16 PAGES
IS 500

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

AL-FAJR

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 686-630

exp. 85/04
Serial Records Divisi
Harvard College
ridge, Mass.
NE 7, 1
OL.VI.N 0.260

Controversy Over Palestinian Delegates

Israel Rejects US, Jordanian Proposals

The US and Jordan intensified contacts last week to move the stalled peace efforts out of the deadlock. During a visit to the US last week, Jordan's King Hussein introduced new proposals which he said were acceptable to the PLO. Among other things these proposals reportedly included working towards direct negotiations between a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation and Israel on the basis of UN resolutions 242 and 338 under an international umbrella.

Israel has rejected the proposal.

The PLO leadership remained sceptical on the outcome of Hussein's proposals.

Hussein's proposals were outlined in a letter sent by US Secretary of State George Shultz to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir on June 1. King Hussein told the US administration he is willing to negotiate with Israel on the basis of UN resolutions 242 and 338 towards achieving a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation rather than an independent Palestinian state. This was confirmed on June 5 by Jordan's foreign minister Taher Masri who remained in the US for more talks. Masri told reporters in Washington that Hussein wouldn't meet Israel alone and insisted on an international conference.

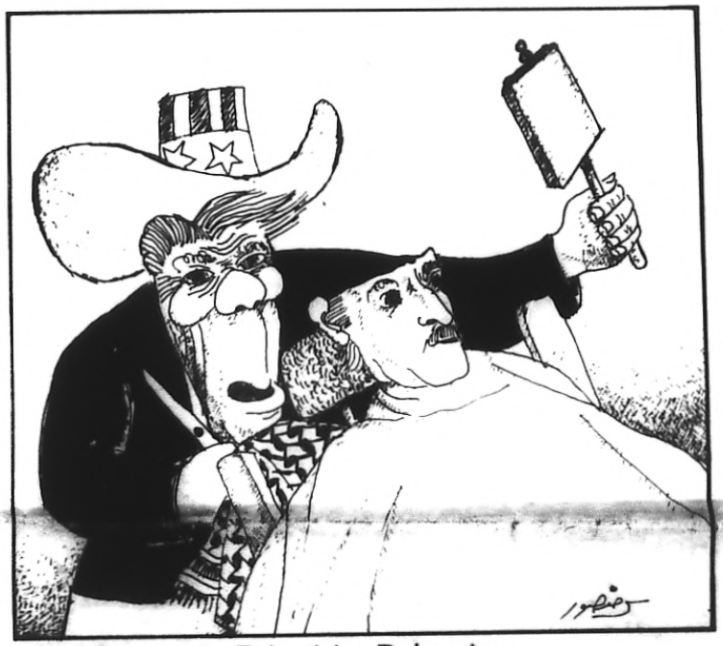
Shultz also said that during the visit, the Americans and the Jordanian king agreed to hold a meeting between US officials and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. Palestinian delegates could include PNC members, Shultz said, but not PLO members. "Such a meeting would be helpful," the letter stated. The US stressed, however, and Jordan agreed that the meeting would not be considered part of the negotiations, the letter stated. The proposed joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation is expected to meet US envoy Richard Murphy in Amman within a month.

In his reply to Shultz, Peres expressed his government's opposition to the planned meeting between US officials and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. Israel Radio reported June 6 that Peres, who was taking into consideration the views of his Likud partners in the coalition government, also rejected the idea of an international conference, and said that the PLO has no room in any peace negotiations. Israel also rejected the inclusion of PNC members in the delegation. Peres reiterated his call for unconditional direct negotiations with Jordan.

Israeli Response

In Israel, Shultz's letter sent shock waves through the political establishment. Knesset members from the Likud and Labour parties responded sharply to the US move. One newspaper's headline termed Shultz's letter "a political Yom Kippur," indicating a political disaster. Shamir told reporters in London that he was totally against any meeting with the PLO which he said is committed to the destruction of Israel. Shamir said that there is no difference between the PNC and the PLO, and that all PNC members approve the PLO Charter. Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin

Continued on page 13



The Making of a Palestinian Delegate

Army Demolishes 10 Homes Near Hebron

Israeli army bulldozers demolished ten stone houses in two Hebron area hamlets located west of the Dead Sea June 3 and ordered residents to leave their land on the pretext that the area is now a closed military zone. The demolition followed a series of harassments aimed at forcing the residents to abandon their land.

According to notables from the town of Yatta, 15 kilometres south of Hebron, Israeli bulldozers guarded by many soldiers drove down to Janbeh and al-Markaz villages on the morning of June 3 and cordoned them off. The soldiers gave the Palestinian farmers and shepherds who live in the mountain houses only a few minutes to leave and evacuate their belongings.

When the residents refused to leave, the soldiers evicted them by force and demolished 10 ancient stone shelters on top of the furniture and the stores of wheat and barley inside. Villagers said the financial loss of grain stores and water wells was very high, since the little villages are the main suppliers of wheat to the Hebron area. The landowners still refused to leave the land. They erected tents near their destroyed homes, and moved in to them.

Residents say that they were informed of the closure of the 'military zone' a month ago and have since been repeatedly harassed by the Israelis in order to make them leave their land. Two weeks ago, Israeli soldiers raided the two villages and held more than 525 sheep. The authorities forced the owners to pay a fine of JD7 per head for allowing the sheep to "enter a closed military area." The same measure has been repeated several times in the past.

The area targeted by the Israelis is the only source of income for the more than 150 families who own it. These families live on their land for nine months of the year in winter to plant the fields and graze their

Continued on page 13

IN THIS ISSUE

Settlers Terrorise Released Prisoners p.2
Shaka'a Prevented From Travel p.3
A Victory For Palestinian Diplomacy p.5
An Interview With Stanley Hoffmann p.7
The Gutter: A Story p.11
Wadi Foukin. p.16

Palestinian Unity Talks

The three week old unity between Palestinian fighters in the Beirut refugee camps has began to show fruits of a serious political *rapprochement* between the various Palestinian factions, who had earlier split over Arafat's political initiatives and the convening of the 17th PNC in Amman last November.

Wire services and local papers have reported of at least two high-level meetings between representatives of Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Palestinian Communist Party, one in Amman and another in Tunis.

A June 4 press release issued in the Jordanian capital said that Fatah Central Committee member Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), PFLP political bureau member Azmi Khawaja and Palestinian Communist Party's political bureau member Walid Mustafa met in Amman on "June 3 and reviewed the dangerous situation in the steadfast Beirut camps and in other parts of Lebanon." The statement went on to praise the Palestinian national unity which was created on the battle ground in Beirut and throughout Lebanon, and stressed the need for Palestinians to remain armed in order to defend their people.

The joint Palestinian statement also concentrated on the situation in the occupied territories specifically the internal fighting that took place in Bir Zeit University and the Qalandya training centre which led to injuries and the death of an 18-year-old student. The statement considered these incidents "isolated actions" that should not split Palestinian nationalists or increase the tension inside the

Continued on page 13

Settlers Continue Terror Campaign Against Ex-Prisoners

by Said al-Ghazali

Jewish settlers escalated their violence against the recently released Palestinian prisoners who opted to stay in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip following the May 20 prisoner exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC. The settler violence included warning leaflets to pressure the freed prisoners to leave the country and posters showing photos of some freed prisoners with captions offering prizes for those who could provide information about their whereabouts. Settlers also fired their guns at homes of released prisoners, kicked cars at random, smashed house windows, sent warning letters to some prisoners and convened special 'strategy sessions.'

Members of the Regional Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza met June 2 to coordinate and intensify their efforts, collect information and identify the prisoners. The board also decided to harass local Palestinian universities and newspapers who have openly supported prisoners.

Al Fajr spoke to some of the released prisoners who stressed the importance of the protection they received from their unarmed families, neighbours and friends. They also condemned the apathy and indifference of the Israeli government and interpreted them as support and endorsement for settler violence.

In Tulkarm, more than 100 vehicles carrying settlers from the settlements of Emmanuel, Karnei Shamron, Kadumim and Ginot drove through the main streets on June 2 using loudspeakers to tell prisoners to leave the country. After 40 minutes, the settlers went to the nearby town of Anabta and staged a similar ruckus.

The same night, more than 100 settlers attempted to break into the old city of Nablus but were prevented from doing so by Israeli soldiers. The settlers also issued a religious decree May 31 in which they cited religious law permitting disruption of ex-prisoners' celebrations.

The Hebron home of ex-prisoner Sheikh Rebhi Sharabati, 70, was the first raided by settlers after the May 20 release. Sharabati told *Al Fajr* that thousands of people from various cities came to congratulate him and his son Ahmad who had been sentenced to four life terms. "They carried us on their shoulders and danced the *dabkeh*," Sharabati said. "At 8:00 pm, settlers from Kiryat Arba tried to break into the square in front of our house in the Ras Jora quarter in Hebron but they were halted and attacked with a shower of stones and empty bottles. After half-an-hour, soldiers arrived and threw a curfew over the area."

Sharabati added, "The settlers' barbaric acts will not terrorise us. On the contrary, they strengthen our steadfastness in the country. We did not get out of prison by will of the settlers or the Israeli government but by the will of our Palestinian revolution. Even if they smash us to the ground they will never succeed in forcing us to leave our homeland," he added. Sharabati, who spent 7 years in jail on charges of smuggling weapons that he never confessed to, is now planning to file a complaint with international organisations against his imprisonment without evidence.

The same night, settlers broke into al-Nahr al-Khaled hotel in Hebron and forced congratulators and some ex-prisoners from the Qawasmi family to leave. About 30 congratulators were beaten up and kicked about by settlers.

Three days later, settlers fired shots at the home of released prisoner Talib Gheith. His Father, Abu Abed Gheith, a butcher, reported what happened: "We live in Wadi Qadi on the Yatta-Hebron road. Five armed settlers came after midnight and fired six bullets at our house. They left after seven minutes when soldiers arrived. At 2:30 am, settlers riding in six vehicles came and stopped near the house. They spoke over loudspeakers and threatened Talib and the entire family. They used insults and abuses to provoke him into leaving the house." Settlers remained for 50 minutes during which they fired volleys of bullets and uprooted plants in the vicinity. Gheith spent 10 years in jail. He is married with four children. His father, who has a butcher shop in Suq Qazazine, told *Al Fajr*, "My son wants to live and enjoy his freedom." Talib, whose picture was on a 'wanted' poster the settlers plastered all over Wadi Qadi, was not available at home or in the town.

Yasir Jnaidi points to the remains of his demolished home./SG photo.

The settlers also staged a similar raid on the residence of Azmi Obeido in the Sinout area on the road to Bani Naim village, eight kilometres east of Hebron.

Ex-prisoner Yasir Jnaidi, 42, who was imprisoned in 1972, now lives on the Biron Mount, 500 metres away from the settlement of Kiryat Arba. He received a warning from Kiryat Arba settlers when they poisoned and killed his family's four dogs. It was very difficult to reach Jnaidi's home – people in the vicinity were suspicious and refused to help anyone find his house. Even his cousin refused to reveal the whereabouts of Jnaidi's house on the Biron Mount until he was assured that this reporter was a *bona fide* Palestinian journalist.

However, Jnaidi's family did not welcome the unexpected visit. His sister tried several times to interrupt the interview, urging Jnaidi to remain silent. She expressed her fears: "Settlers are dangerous people and we had a very hard time when my brother was chased by soldiers for several months in the nearby mountains and the whole family was interrogated." Jnaidi's sister, who refused to give her name, explained that their father died in 1979 and her brother Yasir is the only man left to take care of the entire family. She said he wants to get married next month and to enjoy a peaceful and settled life after 17 years in jail.

Yasir Jnaidi read aloud some sentences from a leaflet distributed by settlers in Hebron. The leaflets, addressed to the inhabitants of Hebron, stated: "We will not endure co-existence with the killers in Hebron or anywhere else. There will be no peaceful relations between you and us unless you dismiss the killers from your homes and quarters." The leaflet also announced that the names and descriptions of prisoners will be published from time to time. Perhaps this was why Jnaidi's sister would not allow his picture to be taken.

Naji Hamadeh Qawasmeh of Hebron was 16 when he was imprisoned in 1970. Fifteen years later, his hair is now partly grey and he suffers from a bad cough as a result of inflamation in his kidney. He told *Al Fajr*: "Settler harassment cannot be justified. There is no way to equate settler terrorism and the resistance against the Israeli occupation. The settlers murdered, planted bombs in Arab-owned buses, attempted to bomb al-Aqsa mosque and other holy sites in the occupied territories, and announced their aim as the expulsion of all Arabs from Palestine," Qawasmi said. "Therefore, their attempt to harass us now is an integral part of all settler harassment against our people in general." Qawasmi added: "We have no option but to live here under the protection of our people, our men, women and children."

Released prisoner Abd al-Alim Da'ana with his mother outside the family's Hebron home./SG photo.

Hamadeh, Qawasmi's father, who was also imprisoned for 13 months in 1969, spoke about harsdhips after Israeli authorities demolished his house in 1970 when his son was jailed. "After 13 years, I finally built another house," he said. Hamadeh has not been able to work since 1969 because his Israeli jailers inflicted a deep wound in his left arm which left him partially crippled. He is worried about the hardships his son will face in future life.

The second house raided by settlers belonged to Mohammed Hamed Ja'abari, who lives in the immediate vicinity of the Kiryat Arba settlement. According to Rahifeh Salaymeh, Ja'abari's brother's wife, Gush Emunim leader Moshe Levinger from Kiryat Arba and his armed followers surrounded the house with 20 vehicles and prevented congratulators from coming in. The settlers smashed the windows of three vehicles. When Israeli soldiers arrived, the settlers left.

Abd al-Alim Da'ana, 36, another Hebronite ex-prisoner, was imprisoned for 17 years on charges of forming a joint Arab and Jewish cell. Da'ana did not carry out any attacks, but he received a harsh sentence of seventeen-and-a-half years in jail because he recruited Jews to serve the Palestinian Cause. Da'ana compared settler harassments with the cowboys in America. "They treat us as if we are criminals," he said. "But it is natural that we fight against the occupation and those who took over our land. Those fascist settlers were treated very nicely in Israeli jails, which seemed to be vacation centres rather than jails," Da'ana added.

Da'ana's mother recalled what Kiryat Arba settlers had done against the family in previous years. "They confiscated 18 dunums which were planted with 16 fig trees, 75 vines, and 20 sumac trees," she said.

Mohammed Fayad Sharabati, brother of Ribhi Sharabati agreed that Hebronites are ready to defend themselves and to fight those who plan to attack them. Sharabati confirmed that some released prisoners refused to visit their families in Jordan lest their visits would be interpreted as an attempt to escape from settlers.

The right-wing Jewish extremists did not confine their activities to the occupied territories alone. They also harassed Daoud Turki from Haifa and pasted his photo as a "wanted prisoner" on the wall of his bookstore on Khoury street in Haifa. The notice described him as a "terrorist" and included a telephone number and address of the Kach movement for those who wish to inform on Daoud Turki. Turki told reporters: "I have no home except in Haifa." Turki was summoned to the Haifa police station one day after his release and was given an option to leave the country.

No Passports for Ex-Prisoners

The Israeli Shin Bet and Interior Ministry refused last week to issue travel documents to 30 prisoners released in the May 20 exchange who live inside the 'green line.' The prisoners were summoned to Shin Bet and Interior Ministry offices throughout the week and interrogated, in violation of the prisoner exchange agreement.

The 30 ex-prisoners were among the 1050 Palestinians freed when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command released three Israeli soldiers it captured in the 1982 Lebanon war.

The prisoners were called in to Shin Bet offices in Haifa, Tireh and Nazareth and warned against carrying out political activities at the risk of being put behind bars again. When the prisoners demanded their passports which were confiscated upon arrest, the Shin Bet told them they are forbidden to travel until further notice. When several prisoners went to the Israeli Interior Ministry requesting passports they were told they could not have them because "it is not desirable that they travel." Several prisoners complained that they were verbally abused during the Shin Bet interrogations.

(Translation: Al Ittihad, Al Sha'ab, June 3, 4, 1985).

Soldiers Bar Shaka'a from Condolence Visit

Israeli soldiers prevented Bassam Shaka'a, elected mayor of Nablus, from travelling to the nearby Fa'a'a refugee camp to offer condolences to the family of a student killed in a brawl with another student at Qalandya Vocational Training Centre last week. Tawfiq Sawalmeh, 18, was stabbed to death by another student following a heated political discussion.

Shaka'a said that Israeli soldiers, who monitor his movements 24-hours-a-day, intercepted and stopped him on his way to Fara'a. The soldiers told Shaka'a that they had orders to prevent him from leaving the city. His attempts to explain to them the purpose of his trip were futile. Shaka'a said that the soldiers did not give any reason for the restriction.

"I just wanted to express my deep sorrow for the incident to the family of the student," he said. Shaka'a described the killing as "tragic" and called on the family to rise above attempts to feed internal violence.

The elected mayor said that preventing him from travelling to Fara'a refugee camp, was "part of the Israeli 'iron fist' policy against our people."

Bassam Shaka'a

Shaka'a was elected mayor of Nablus in 1976. The Israelis dismissed him in 1982, along with many other West Bank mayors, for refusing to deal with the 'civil administration' that was supposed to be used to implement autonomy under the terms of the Camp David agreement. He was placed under *de facto* restriction after his sacking in 1982. This was enforced by a round-the-clock surveillance patrol which was posted outside his home to monitor his movements. The surveillance was stopped for nearly five months with occasional monitoring, but was restored to fulltime duty more than 20 days ago.

Shaka'a complained that the Israeli patrol posted at his gate harasses his family and visitors constantly. He said that the soldiers stop visitors and interrogate them, make provocative gestures, and watch his home and other houses with binoculars. He signalled out one patrol member named George as the rudest in the group.

The mayor filed an official complaint with the Israeli minister of police and the West Bank military government's legal adviser last week about the patrol's behaviour.

Army Uproots, Confiscates 1500 Olive Trees

Farmers hold up uprooted olive trees and flash the victory sign./AO photo.

Israeli soldiers uprooted over 1500 olive trees belonging to residents of Obeidiya village, east of Bethlehem, June 2 on the pretext that they were planted illegally. The landowners, caught by surprise, are infuriated by the military action and say that the trees provided income for 300 residents.

A large force of Israeli military with several bulldozers moved in and uprooted the trees when the landowners were away. They entered the land from different directions, destroying in the process an expensive fence the landowners had erected to protect their trees.

The land, which totals 500 dunums, is owned by the large Awwad family from Obeidiya. The trees were the main source of income to the more than 300 family members.

The Awwad family learned over three years ago that the Israeli military authorities had plans to confiscate their land but they were never officially informed. A report in *The Jerusalem Post* June 4 said that the Israeli army considered the land a "firing zone." The military government office for the Bethlehem area refused to comment on the subject when queried by *Al Fajr*.

Jerusalem advocate Abed Asali who represents the landowners confirmed the owners' claim but added that the plot that the Israeli authorities confiscated three years ago was not theirs but rather a nearby plot. "The Awwads own plots number 4 and 5, but the Israelis confiscated number 6," he said.

Asali expressed anguish over the military destruction of 1500 olive trees and said that it is a sign they intend to confiscate the entire 500 dunums. He said he plans to take the case to Bethlehem district court on behalf of the Awwad family against the Custodian of Absentee Land, the Israeli government authority responsible for 'state' land in the West Bank and Gaza. He said he will attempt to obtain a court injuction against the confiscation of the land. "If not, I will take the case to the Israeli High Court," he said.

Meanwhile, *Al Fajr* has learned that the Awwad family has already purchased several hundred new olive seedlings to plant in place of the uprooted trees. The army was reported to have confiscated all the uprooted trees but has not officially forbidden the Awwads to replace them.

Settlers occupying Arab owned Old City home./AO photo.

Settlers Occupy Old City House

On June 4, a Jerusalem magistrate court ordered Jewish settlers to leave by June 7 an Arab-owned home in Jerusalem's Old City which they illegally occupied May 28.

Residents of Shawiesh courtyard in Bab Khan el-Zeit said a score of settlers entered the house of Saleh Badran Dkeadek and a nearby room owned by and old woman from the Ukkeh family with the intention of taking them over. The settlers entered from the rooftops, broke down the doors, and then dumped all the furniture outside, threatening to kill anyone who got in their way, residents said.

Both homes were unoccupied when the settlers broke in. Dkeadek died several months ago and no one else had yet moved into the house. The Ukkeh woman was in Jordan visiting relatives at the time of the break-in. Dkeadek had been harassed by settlers before he died. They pressured him several times to sell, but he always refused.

The Jerusalem court had earlier issued an order to settlers on May 31 to leave the homes by June 4. But on June 4 it extended this date to June 7. (Translation: Al Tali'a, June 6).

Booby Trapped Car Detonated in Gaza

The Israeli military headquarters in Gaza narrowly escaped destruction June 3 when a booby-trapped car parked at the entrance was detonated minutes before exploding. There were several other attacks against Israeli targets in Gaza and the West Bank.

According to an Israeli military spokesman, the car-bomb was loaded with explosives and attached to a timer. A cooling gas cylinder was also placed in the car trunk to increase the force of the explosion. The bomb was discovered two hours before it was due to go off. The Hebrew daily *Ma'ariv* reported June 4 that an Israeli noticed the car parked at the entrance of the military headquarters and called bomb sappers to examine it. Israeli troops immediately began an investigation into the incident.

On June 1, two other bombing incidents occurred in the Gaza Strip. In the first incident, a grenade was tossed towards an Israeli patrol walking through central Gaza. An Israeli military spokesman said the grenade missed its target and exploded amidst a number of Palestinian passersby injuring five people. Sources in Gaza, however, said that the soldiers opened fire in all directions after the explosion, hence suggesting that the five were actually wounded by the soldiers' fire.

Four of the wounded were transferred to the government-run Shifa hospital, and one to the al-Ahli (Baptist) hospital. Sources in al-Ahli told *Al Fajr* that the man, Nasser Jarour, was suffering from gashes in the right leg, and that he too was later transferred to Shifa hospital.

On the same day, another grenade was hurled towards an army patrol which was heading towards Nusseirat refugee camp, in the centre of the Gaza Strip. Israel Radio reported the attack and said there were no casualties.

Elsewhere in the occupied territories two Israeli passengers were injured June 3 after Palestinian youngsters from Beit Lahia village in the Gaza Strip lobbed stones at an Israeli bus.

June 5

Palestinians in the occupied territories marked the 18th anniversary of the Israeli occupation June 5 with flags, stones, grenades, and calls for an end to occupation.

Daybreak revealed a Palestinian flag hoisted atop an unfinished building on Salah el-Din Street, the commercial heart of Arab East Jerusalem.

Random incidents of stone-throwing against Israeli cars occurred in Jerusalem's Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood. There were no reports of injuries. Israel Radio also reported that a grenade was thrown towards an Israeli army patrol as it drove on the Hebron-Dura road, but there were no casualties in the incident.

The cultural committee of the Electricity Workers Union in Jerusalem held a forum to discuss the Israeli occupation.

5 Palestinian bodies lying on the ground of the Beirut stadium, near the Palestinian refugee camps.

Palestinian Casualties Mount in Battle for the Camps

The casualty toll in the Palestinian Sabra, Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh refugee camps near Beirut continued to mount. The fighting temporarily ceased June 6. Palestinian reports say it is only a temporary lull, and expect an all-out assault by the Amal militias and the Lebanese army sixth brigade to wipe out the camps. Amal was reported to have surrounded al-Bass refugee camp near Tyre in south Lebanon June 2 and killed scores of unarmed Palestinian civilians.

According to Palestinian sources in Lebanon, 672 refugees were killed and 2380 wounded, predominantly civilians caught underneath destroyed houses or sniped by the Amal Shi'ite militias and the sixth brigade of the Lebanese army, whose siege and bombardment of the camps has now entered its fourth week.

Scores of wounded were dying because of lack of medical attention and an outbreak of cholera and other diseases in the camps. Red Cross ambulances attempting to enter the camps were often unable to do so due to the intensive bombardment and sporadic shooting from Amal troops. Camp residents said 14 children under the age of 13 had died of cholera.

Amal now reportedly holds over 2300 Palestinian prisoners, most of whom are from the Sabra camp which fell June 3. At least two hundred residents are missing.

A statement by a Palestinian military spokesman from inside the camps said June 5 that 4000 Syrian troops in two army units, one of which is a military intelligence unit, have joined Amal and the sixth brigade of the Lebanese army and are preparing for a massive assault on the camps to take them over. The statement, which was sent out during a period of calm, warned that if the assault succeeded, it could result in massive massacres of civilian residents and levelling of the camps. Sabra camp was destroyed following the Amal takeover June 3. Hundreds of bodies are reported still lying under the rubble of whole blocks of houses blown up by shellfire or dynamited by Shi'ite militias after they took the camp.

A Shatila resident who was injured and taken out by a Red Cross ambulance told reporters that camp residents are fighting disease and hunger in crowded basement shelters ringed by Amal forces. "They are digging pits for mass graves," he said. "They put 20 or 30 bodies in each grave. Things are very bad. There is no water. The children are dying."

Another injured resident told reporters that camp residents had to resort to eating stray dogs and cats for lack of food. Three hundred and thirty children were reported to have died from starvation during the 18 day battle.

Palestinian factions that belong to the National Salvation Front held several meetings with Amal representatives over last week to grind out their differences but were not able to reach a compromise. Amal refused to end the fighting unless Palestinian fighters in the camps agreed to total disarmament and relinquishing total control of the camps to the sixth brigade of the Lebanese army. The Palestinian factions rejected these conditions. The negotiatons are to resume next week with the Druze leader Walid Jumblatt as mediator.

A meeting of the Arab foreign ministers scheduled for June 6 was postponed until the next day because only nine out of twenty-two ministers agreed to attend. The meeting, intended to discuss the crisis in the Lebanese camps and ways of halting the massacres, was called by Yasir Arafat at the beginning of the attack.

The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously June 3 that "all violent activities against Palestinian civilians in the Lebanese camps must be halted." The vote, requested by Egypt and France, was opposed by Lebanon and Syria. The Lebanese representative at the UN, Rashid Fakhouri, said in a speech following the vote that "Lebanon can only reject the council's vote because we consider it an outright interference in our internal affairs." Syria, which has blessed Amal's actions around the camp and is its main supplier of weapons supported Lebanon's position at the UN.

LEARN ARABIC WITH ARABS IN JERUSALEM

The Arab Council for Public Affairs Announces

An Intensive, Two-Month Arabic Course for foreign students

July 1 – August 30

The course will include: day long teaching workshops, boarding arrangements in furnished apartments and rooms, visits to Arab homes, tours of the country, and more.

For Further Information, write

Arab Council for Public Affairs
Cultural Department
P.O. Box 19839, Jerusalem

Palestinians Deplore Beirut Massacres

Palestinians in the occupied territories are deeply concerned over the continuing massacres of Palestinian civilians in refugee camps in Lebanon. They also deplore the atrocities perpetrated by the Shi'ite Amal movement and the sixth brigade of the Lebanese army.

This was the message delivered all last week in several rallies and telegrammes to the local press from cities and refugee camps all over the occupied territories.

In a mass rally held June 2 at the Hebron Polytechnic College and Hebron University, representatives of local institutions and student groups in the Hebron district expressed their anger at the current conditions in the Sabra, Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh refugee camps where militias affiliated with the Shi'ite Amal movement have been besieging and slaughtering Palestinians for the past several weeks.

Speeches delivered at the rally blamed the Syrian government for supporting Amal in its attacks on the camps. They termed Amal's actions an episode in the conspiracy to eliminate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon with the blessing of Israel and Syria. The speeches also stressed that the conspiracy can only be foiled through national unity.

Another mass rally was held in Nablus May 30. Several hundred Nablus residents attended, many holding large banners and placards of protest. One banner declared that "Nabih Berri and Hafez al-Assad will not succeed in annihilating our people." Nabih Berri is the head of the Amal movement. The rally proceeded through several streets in downtown Nablus and ended several hours later with a statement calling on the "Kings, Emirs and heads of Arab countries to leave their observer posts and intervene to end the massacres."

Also in Nablus June 2, members of administrative committees of several labour unions held an emergency meeting in which they expressed concern over the massacres. They concluded, in a statement issued after the meeting, that Amal and the Lebanese army with the backing of Syria are "finishing off what the Israeli-backed Phalangist militias started in 1982" referring to the Phalange massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila. The statement also stressed that the unity of Palestinians at home and in Lebanon is the best method of facing such atrocities aimed at destroying the Palestinian people.

In Jerusalem, a group representing the General Union of Palestinian Women's Committees held a sit-in June 3 at the headquarters of the Red Cross for several hours to protest the deteriorating situation in the camps. They later issued a statement blaming the Lebanese army and Syria for the murder of hundreds of camp residents. The statement also said that the Palestinian people should "stick together to face the conspiracy aimed at annihilating our presence."

Letters of concern were also sent to local newspapers throughout the week. A letter from the Union of Textile Workers in Gaza congratulated Palestinian fighters within the camps who "have shown incredible strength and courage by defending the camps and preventing mass massacres of the civilian residents." The letter wondered how world communities can remain silent while scores of civilians are dying daily from injuries or starvation. The union urged the Lebanese people and their national movement to intervene

3000 Olive Trees Threatened

More than 3000 olive trees in the Ramallah area were temporarily saved from woodworms by the Agricultural Relief Committee (ARC), which completed last week a volunteer pesticide campaign for farmers from Kufr Ni'meh, west of Ramallah. ARC volunteers sprayed more than 3000 olive trees which were threatened by a plant disease caused by woodworms. The disease had already destroyed between 200 and 300 fruit bearing trees.

Agricultural engineer Ismael Da'iq, an active member in the Committee, which was formed in 1980 to help farmers, told *Al Fajr* that farmers from the village contacted the ARC after more than 300 trees died from the disease. He explained that a total of 3000 trees are under similar threat. Most of them are ancient Romanians, the most productive kind of olive trees.

According to Da'iq, the ARC spent more than 10 days spraying the olive trees with special pesticides. He explained that they had to use special machines and tractors to cover the entire contaminated area. He said that the disease is likely to spread again because its source has not been removed. One local resident has a pile of dead wood stocked near his home where the worms are suspected to have made their nests. The resident, suspected by his neighbours of collaborating with the Israelis, reportedly refused to allow the dead wood to be removed because he feels sufficiently protected to withstand neighbours' entreaties. Village residents are reportedly planning to go to court to force the man to remove or destroy the wood.

Da'iq warned that unless the wood is removed all the olive fields in the area are likely to be lost to the disease.

The Dawn
AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

June 5

Eighteen years ago on June 5, Israel invaded and occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights. Three years ago on June 6, Israel invaded and occupied south Lebanon.

This year on June 6, the Israeli army is about to complete its withdrawal from south Lebanon, largely due to the heroic struggle of Lebanese and Palestinian national resistance which made the Israelis realise that they would only reap more casualties by staying in Lebanon. Has Israel finally awakened to the realities of the region and realised that it must come to terms with the people living under its rule and its neighbouring countries?

We wish the answer were yes, but the reality is that it is no.

Israel insists on saying "NO" to all the main issues in the conflict: *no* to negotiating with the PLO, *no* to withdrawing from the occupied territories, *no* to accepting the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and *no* to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. These *nos* continue to block the way to reaching a just and durable settlement to the conflict.

Because of the stubborn Israeli stand, present American plans to sponsor dialogue between a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and Israel may not amount to much, especially as far as ending the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Despite the many Palestinian concessions at the expense of Palestinian unity, intended to show a sincere commitment to peace, Israel and the US persist in bypassing the central issue, that is the Palestinian problem.

This June is witnessing another important development. Palestinian national unity is being enhanced in the face of the massacres that Amal and its allies are perpetrating against the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. This national unity is crucial for repelling attacks on the camps, and it also increases pressure on Israel and the US to accede to the Palestinian right to self-determination.

After 18 years of constant harassment and intimidation from the Israeli occupiers we are still determined to regain our freedom and independence in a sovereign state. We can wait until next June 6, and to the June 6 after if necessary. But we will never abandon this just right until it has been achieved.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT.....

DATE.....

SIGNED.....

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

News Analysis

A Victory for Palestinian Diplomacy

by Daoud Kuttab

More than two-and-a-half years after President Reagan announced his September 1, 1982 peace plan for the Middle East, the United States government appears to be moving again in the hope of mediating a negotiated settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The US has kept the Arab-Israeli conflict on the backburner for the past few years – first, because it was up to its neck in Lebanon, and then because it failed so obviously in Lebanon. US Secretary of State George Shultz, who is carrying the gauntlet in the latest US move, was personally burned when the May 17, 1983 agreement he sponsored between Israel and Lebanon fell apart and the US marines and embassy were blown out of Lebanon's capital.

The motives behind the latest US moves are still unclear. Every US president tries to achieve some historic and memorable foreign policy coup in his second term, and Reagan is no exception. Now, after all the elections are passed and the players in place, the time has come to try and act. Then too, the US has its eye on the Israeli government and knows that Shimon Peres' term ends in September 1986, at which point he will be replaced by the arch-hawk, Yitzhak Shamir. That fact, and the pressure from the barrage of Arab leaders who visited Washington this year, have made it imperative for the US to make some kind of move.

The US moves which have been quietly in the works for some time only crystallised after the latest visit of Jordan's King Hussein to Washington. Hussein's visit and his strong conviction that this is the last chance for peace in the region forced the US's hand and triggered small changes in the US position. The first signs of a change were evident when the US State Department announced its conditional willingness to accept a role for the Soviet Union in a future role in the Middle East peace process. The US position also included an approval for the participation of Palestinian members of the Palestine National Council in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to talk with the US. This announcement about PNC members, which came in the form of a telegramme from Shultz to Israeli Prime Minister Peres and Deputy Prime Minister Shamir, June 1, created a political storm in Israel that might result in the collapse of the Israeli national unity government.

The negative Israeli reaction to Shultz's letter can itself be seen as a Palestinian victory. Palestinian leaders, who have matured to the political rules of international diplomacy, have shown that total rejection of any proposal is not necessarily the best reply. This Palestinian diplomatic maturity actually started shortly after Reagan announced his peace initiative back in 1982. Despite the fact that Reagan's initiative rejected the idea of an independent Palestinian state and the right of Palestinians to self-determination and completely ignored the role of the PLO, Palestinian officials reacted carefully to the plan and made an effort to stress some of its positive points. Palestinian diplomats attempting to suggest a new formula for the peace process worked hard to reach the accord with Jordan. The February 11, 1985 agreement between the PLO and Jordan was the direct fruit of this PLO diplomacy. This agreement, which was approved by the PLO Executive Committee and lately by the Palestine Central Council in Tunis, was the cornerstone of King Hussein's diplomatic push in the American capital.

Shultz and Hussein: *The US has long pursued an active role in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict for strategic reasons.*

The Americans, on the other hand, fresh from the defeat of the Lebanon fiasco, are now alert to the importance of finding credible partners in any agreement. Perhaps it is over optimistic to assert that the US has learned a lesson from Palestinian opposition to and exclusion from the Camp David accords. But certainly they realised that the failure of the May 17 agreement in Lebanon was to a large extent the result of the fact that it didn't involve all the parties to the Lebanon conflict. The Phalangist Lebanese president who acted alone in signing this document was unable to deliver and had to abandon it. Syria's exclusion was a surefire torpedo.

Therefore, perhaps the US has realised, after hearing continuous arguments from Arab leaders, that any agreement that would stand a chance of resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict must include a central role for the Palestinians represented by legitimate delegates. Until recently the US has been pushing for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to include marginal West Bankers who have little representative or political clout. As a result of the February 11 agreement, Jordan was committed to giving the PLO an equal role in the negotiations. So when Hussein went to Washington he proposed to the American officials that he can deliver a Jordanian-PLO delegation and not merely a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Yet there are signs the US has not yet learned this lesson as thoroughly as it should. Shultz defined the criteria for Palestinian delegates as "people of goodwill who are thoughtful, responsible and are truly dedicated to non-violent solutions and who are truly ready to strive for peace with Israel." Shultz omitted the key criteria for any delegate to negotiations: that he be legitimate, representative, and able to 'sell' the agreement reached back home, among his constituency.

The United States has long pursued an active role in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict for strategic reasons. They see the Middle East, with its oil supplies, as a region of vital interest and seek to minimise the Soviet role there. So they have repeatedly tried to sponsor peace plans and dialogue under their sole auspices. The frequent visits of powerful US presidential envoys to the Middle East is indicative of the high level of US interest. Philip Habib's shuttle in 1981 produced the 11-month-long ceasefire agreement between Israel and the PLO. US diplomats were hoping that the indirect agreement between the PLO and Israel could lead to

Continued on page 9

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

The Making of a 'Security Zone'

by Ze'ev Schiff HaAretz

Israel has two options in regard to the security belt in south Lebanon, both of which involve a certain risk. The first option calls for a fullscale and total pullout; this means taking a risk with the Shi'ites. After such a pullout, Amal militiamen would no doubt take control of the area. Since the Shi'ites are no longer being controlled by the Palestinians, and given Amal's recent success in increasing its strength and building up its military wing, it is doubtful that it would allow Palestinian organisations to stage attacks against Israel (from the area under its control). The underlying idea is that Amal wants to take control of the predominantly Shi'ite areas quietly and does not want Israel to stage massive retaliatory raids against south Lebanon in response to attacks against the Galilee. Massive Israeli retaliation would cause widespread destruction and spark off a mass exodus from south Lebanon. Were the area to be under the control of Amal, the danger of Amal attacks against the SLA (South Lebanese Army) could be ruled out; the SLA would be reduced to the status of a rural civil guard operating in tandem with Amal.

For its part, Amal would be forced into coming to some kind of local agreement with Israel. Those in favour of the Shi'ite option were favourably impressed by the success of the Amal militia men in quickly taking control of Nabatiya and Tyre following the Israeli army's withdrawal from those areas. They prevented any other group from operating in the area. Moreover, the Shi'ite option fits in well with Syria's designs for preserving calm in the areas the Israeli army evacuates.

Can Amal Control the Shi'ites?

But there is a risk involved, for even if Amal is interested in calm, it is doubtful whether it can prevent more extreme Shi'ite elements from staging attacks against Israel from the territory under its control. The Israeli army was not entirely successful in hermetically sealing off the area and it is doubtful that Amal would fare much better against small cells of extremist and pro-Iranian Shi'ites or Palestinians... The Shi'ite option may also result in a situation in which predominantly Shi'ite Lebanese army units will be deployed on the Israeli border together with UNIFIL troops. This may complicate the situation on the border and thereby make it easier for hostile forces to launch attacks on Israel from close range... However great the dangers this option entails, we must keep in mind that the Shi'ites constitute the majority of the Lebanese population. Perhaps some kind of an intermediate stage is necessary, but one day we will have to reach some agreement with the Shi'ites.

The second option involves a gamble in regard to the SLA. It means relying on Lahad's forces (which number at present roughly 1450 men, plus an additional 450 members of the civil militias set up in the Shi'ite villages and approximately 300 Jezzine residents who are members of the local militia which operates under Lahad's command) to defend the security zone after the Israeli withdrawal... This option is perhaps more dangerous than the former although the risks are not immediately apparent. Relying on the SLA means relying on a Christian army — even if there are Shi'ite militias in some of the villages — and taking the risk of getting caught up in the ethnic conflict raging in Lebanon. Any move against the Shi'ite majority would spark off Shi'ite anger against Israel.

Can the SLA Control Amal?

I believe that it would be a mistake to utilise this option since the local residents see the SLA as part of the Israeli army. "The SLA is Israel," I was told by a number of Shi'ites, including two commanders of the local civil militia. Hence, the SLA will undoubtedly become a target for attacks by Amal and other Shi'ite forces in the security zone. Attacks of this type could make for a situation in which the security zone would be cut off from the rest of Lebanon. It would mean a *de facto* annexation which would increase pressure on the Shi'ite residents to act against Israel...

One must remember that General Lahad has his own interests, for instance, his desire to keep contact with the Jezzine region open. This may draw Israel into a confrontation. Today the situation on the ground is absurd: Lahad's men receive their provisions, arms, ammunition and salaries from the Israeli army. This is true both in the security zone and in the Jezzine area, although the SLA soldiers stationed in Jezzine are not subordinated to the Israeli army...

This situation has left the door open for a variety of misunderstandings and mix-ups. During the recent battles in the Jezzine area, Lahad was provided with artillery support by the Israeli army, but at a certain stage in the fighting, he was told that it was conditional on his troops' firing — Israeli ammunition of course — from outside the area under Israeli control. Even if General Lahad is an obedient soldier, in the end this system cannot help but create a situation in which the SLA's enemies return fire by aiming at Israeli targets.

In the meantime, until [the Israeli government] comes to a decision, the Israeli army is continuing to build up the infrastructure of the security zone. This entails a large scale investment, far beyond the scope of anything that was mentioned at first. The local residents see it as a sign that Israel has no intention of withdrawing, and is keeping open the option of frequent return visits. We ought to keep in mind that our goal should be a total pullout. I hope that the policy guidelines of the defence minister have remained intact, namely his statement to the effect that Israel "has ended its involvement in Lebanese affairs. We have chosen to pursue a defensive strategy to be carried out from inside Israel. We have one goal: the defence of Israel, not the defence of the Christians of Lebanon." (Translation: HaAretz, May 17, 1985).■

Israeli soldiers celebrating as they withdraw from Lebanon after three years.

Need vs. Greed

Letter to Editor

Dear Sir,

I am a visitor to Israel and this morning (Sat.) I picked up the May 17 issue of *Al Fajr*. Page 2 has an article on the "Arab Image in Israeli Texts," described as "Abysmal", and with which I agree.

Worldwide, Jews *have* been persecuted for thousands of years, by Christians and Muslims who, before Hitler, made Jews wear a yellow identification mark on their clothing. It was Muslims who treated Jews as *dhimmies*, a sub-human.

If the Arab is depicted as the "enemy," it is because the Arabs have always been an *enemy* to the Jews. Why did Arab armies attack in 1948, when there was NO conquered Arab lands, NO "refugee" problem, NO settlements in Judea and Samaria?

And why did they attack *again* in 1967?

Your editorial claims Palestinians "chose" the PLO to represent them. *When?* There was never any election. The PLO itself never called for any such election. When *true* representatives arose, the PLO had them assassinated. The National Covenant of the PLO calls repeatedly for Israel's *destruction*. Anyone, therefore, who favours the PLO is, by definition, an *enemy* of Israel!

Your Bishara article on Shultz and Murphy refers to "another concession" (by the Arabs) to Murphy. Oh, were there *others*? When have Arabs ever conceded anything? *All* Palestine was set aside as a *Jewish* homeland by the Balfour Declaration and reaffirmed by the League of Nations. Illegally, Britain, acting *against* the Mandate given it by the League, took away nearly 80 percent to create yet another Arab state, today called Jordan.

The UN in 1947 then said, let's create 1 Jewish and 1 Arab state. From *where*? From the *remaining 20 percent* of *Jewish* land! Jews agreed. Arabs (who would have wound up with 90 percent of the Jewish land) would not agree to a "compromise" giving them 90 percent and the other party 10 percent. The Arab idea of "compromise" is "we get 100 percent, you get *nothing*."

So they chose to go to war, instead.

They *lost* that war. Read your history books. For thousands of years, when one *loses* in war, one has absolutely no "rights."

Dr. Hallaj is really a comic when he writes of US preference for Israel over Arabs. Time and time again the US has rushed to defend Arab interests. Israel could have marched on Damascus and Cairo, had the US not intervened. Twice in Lebanon the US rescued the PLO from annihilation. For 37 years Israel has been the recipient of threats and relentless pressure to bow to the Arabs, by the US. Not once has the US threatened or pressured any Arab country. In fact, the US in 1948 imposed an arms embargo, meant to throttle the infant Israel in its crib. Only intervention by the Soviets prevented the US plan from succeeding. The Arabs had ninety nine and three-quarter percent of the land in the Middle East; the Jews one-fourth of one percent. The "case" for the Arabs is not one of need — it is one of GREED!

Bernard Brodsky
Brooklyn, NY
USA
JUNE 7, 1985

Prof. Stanley Hoffman:

'The Arabs Should Put The Focus on Israel's Intransigence'

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC, Correspondent

Professor Stanley Hoffmann is one of the most respected American political scientists and the Chairman of Harvard's Centre for European studies. He is the author of many books on a variety of subjects including US foreign policy. Among his books and articles are *The Setting of American Foreign Policy; Decline or Renewal? Al Fajr's Ghassan Bishara* interviewed Hoffmann in mid-March of this year. The interview is excerpted below. The full interview will be published in the forthcoming issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

On the Middle East Stalemate: The basic deadlock in Israel has not changed; the various conflicts within the Arab world seem to me to be as acute as ever; and nobody seems to be on the same wavelength as anybody else at the same time. This has been going on for as long as one can remember. The fact that you have a *rapprochement* between Egypt and some of the other moderate forces in the Arab world has not led to reconciliation between them and Syria. Saudi Arabia continues, as usual, to play a very prudent role, not wanting to commit itself to any particular side. None of the basic problems has been resolved. Certainly Lebanon is in the same dreadful condition it has been in [for] the last 10 years.

Q: Then you assume that the fractionalisation of divisions within the Arab world are one reason why not much has changed?

A: Undoubtedly. For instance, take the PLO which is crucial to a peaceful solution between Israel and the Arab countries; the chances of getting some sort of agreement, except a purely minimalistic one, among members of the PLO always decrease when different Arab countries are at odds with one another. I think it would be much easier for the PLO to formulate a coherent foreign policy if there was some fundamental agreement among the Arab states. But the PLO itself, it seems to me, becomes a stake in the battles for influence among the Arab countries.

Q: Since you did mention the PLO, have you looked carefully at the agreement between King Hussein and Chairman Arafat, and if so, what do you think of it?

A: I think it is certainly a step forward, but it is so hedged that the gap between it and some of the other actors' positions remains very wide. You are dealing with the composition of a future delegation and the shape of peace negotiations. There is still a very big gap between the Israeli request for direct negotiations, on the one hand, and the Jordan PLO-position which is something like an international conference. Then Mubarak has a third proposal.

Q: Don't you think that the Arafat-Hussein formula is a sort of a compromise to which the other side should respond in kind?

A: I think it is a step forward. I think if you had a different policy in Washington it could be used as an opening. It is reasonable to expect this kind of a ping pong game to go on between the moderate Arab countries. Israel is another matter, because Israel in a sense, moves on it's own clock. And at this point, it seems to me because of the nature of its particular government, it can't move very easily. I was very surprised at the first positive response of Peres, but clearly if he accepted the Arafat-Hussein statement at face value he wouldn't have a government. If there are any developments at all I think they will take a very long time. I think one will probably have to wait until there is further erosion of the Likud's power in Israel; and I think a much more active American policy than what one is likely to have in the next few months is required.

> THERE IS STILL A VERY BIG GAP BETWEEN THE ISRAELI REQUEST FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE JORDAN PLO-POSITION.

Q: ... Do you believe there is anything the Palestinian people can do under the present circumstances to convince Israel to recognise their right to self-determination?

A: I have one point of disagreement with the Arafat line. I understand his position and I know, above all, that he has to preserve as much unity in his movement as he can, but I really don't think that recognition of Israel is much of a card. But I think he would provoke considerable change in Israel if he made a statement such as, "I am willing to recognise Israel, the minute Israel recognises self-determination in a Palestinian state." I think if that were said it would provoke turmoil in Israel comparable to what Sadat's visit did. Until this is done, Israelis who argue, "You see, they simply will not accept us" will predominate. It seems to me, even if he makes it conditional, just pronouncing the word "recognition" would have an enormous impact. And I don't think he would lose anything, since it would still be conditioned on, I would say, an Israeli acceptance of a Palestinian state and an American willingness to talk to him. First of all, it would change the balance of opinion in Israel because it could launch an enormous debate which would probably put great pressure on the government. Incidentally, in public the Israelis usually say, "We will not accept any Palestinian state," but you have old hawks, ex-hawks like Ezer Weizman who now talk, at least in private, about accepting a Palestinian state.

So I think that even though the formal lines remain very uncompromising, behind those formal lines there is considerable evolution. On the other hand, I think the balance of international opinion would also change. At present, even though it is Israel who is the most intransigent it somehow always looks like as if timidity and diversion on the Arabs' side are the problem, which is after all the new American line.

I think from an Arab viewpoint, it is not unimportant to try to put the focus on Israel's own intransigence. To give you another example, immediately after the Reagan initiative — and there were lots of things wrong with that initiative — the focus was entirely on Arafat's refusal to give a green light to Hussein, which completely removed the spotlight from the immediate Israeli rejection of anything having to do with the initiative at all. The diplomatic weakness lies on the Arab side.

Q: You think it is an Arab diplomatic weakness?

A: Yes, partly because of inter-Arab divisions. It seems to me it's a game in which both sides, for totally different reasons, are equally deficient. The Israelis by a sort of addiction to virginity and the Arabs because of their own divisions. And what has made them even more cautious is the one very daring act of flexibility on the Arab side by Sadat, which was not just bold but reckless. That very recklessness has pushed the pendulum back towards virginity.

Q: I understand from your preface to George Ball's recent book *[Error and Betrayal in Lebanon]* **that what is missing in the Mid-East equation is an Arab deterrent of some sort. As a political scientist and historian, how applicable is the balance of power or the absence of one in the Mid-East situation?**

A: Once again, I don't think that the problem at this point is a military one because I don't think that the US will ever allow Israel to become inferior, and because I do think after the Lebanese experience the Israelis are quite cured of wars that are not strictly for the defence of their territories. I don't think the problem is military. If anything, I am afraid that a big build-up of Arab arms would only give a new twist to the arms race. But Israelis will always find one way or another of not letting there be a preponderance of Arab arms. So if one wants to look for a solution, it would have to be away from military balance. When I say away from military balance it also entails reducing the element of military assistance in the area. There are far too many arms in that area on both sides.

> I THINK A JUST SOLUTION IS A TWO-STATE SOLUTION, SELF-DETERMINATION, A PALESTINIAN STATE AND A GENERAL REDUCTION OF THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS ON ALL SIDES.

Q: What makes the US so unquestionably pro-Israeli, regardless of what Israel does?

A: I think what causes it is the desire every president has had not to provoke the hostility of the quite powerful pro-Israel lobby. It is as simple as this. God knows, American policy makers have enough troubles with the outside world; the last thing they want is trouble on the domestic front. Here you have quite a number of representatives and senators who believe that their seats are tied to taking this or that position [on Israel] and it is not just the Jewish lobby, it is much broader than the Jews. They are a considerable power, but they are not a huge power. Rather, there are a large number of people who for all kinds of reasons — some religious, some cold war — have become unconditional supporters of Israel.

There is another element that one has to face. To put it very bluntly Americans do not like Arabs. You must have noticed this from time to time. There are no affinities. You have affinities with Western Europe for all kinds of reasons. That is where the bulk of the population comes from. And you have certainly a very strong affinity for Israel, which is very complicated. It is [then] partly the Jews, but it is partly the sense of remorse for what was done or not done in the 1930s. It is [also] the myth of Israel, you know a valiant small people surrounded by enemies, building a land from scratch. As with any myth, there is a large amount of truth in it, and it is constantly reinforced. If you don't have the sentimental element, if it were entirely machinations of lobbies, it would be incomprehensible. There is a very strong emotional tie [between Americans and Jews].

Q: Why is it that many American Jews who are highly politicised, intellectual, educated and on most issues liberal, are not when it comes to the Middle East or the Israeli-Arab conflict?

A: That's a good question. I think it has to do with partial misuse of solidarity with Israel. There is the sense that these are "my people." "I am American but I am also an honourary Israeli. And I will do nothing that undermines the security of Israel." I think solidarity is fine, but I think it is being misused.

Q: What is your idea of a just and equitable solution?

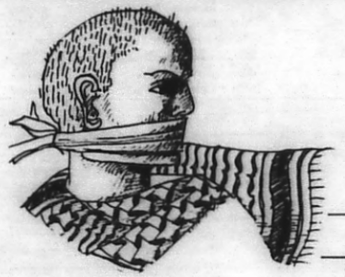
A: I think a just solution is a two-state solution, self-determination, a Palestinian state and a general reduction of the level of armaments on all sides. I don't have any doubt about it. I don't think the Israelis will lose from it, and I think it is the only just solution possible. But that doesn't make it any closer.

Q: Do you convey these views to people in Israel?

A: They know my views. What is interesting is that you can go to Israel with those views and be accepted with much more grace than [you would be in] the American Jewish community. There is much more dissent in Israel than there is among American Jews, especially among Israeli academics and intellectuals who on the whole are solidly dovish. But, like most intellectuals everywhere, they don't determine the policy of their government. ■

Occupation and Censorship

The State of the Local Palestinian Press



by Bishara A. Bahbah

The role and function of media in a society depend primarily on the type of political system in that society. The Palestinian print press (the only medium permitted) in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip exists in unusual circumstances: it operates under occupation by a foreign power. Given that the occupier — Israel — has unlimited control over both the people and the land, why do they permit the existence of a press generally hostile to them? What is the role and function of this press from the Palestinian perspective, particularly that of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)? And how does the press itself perceive its role?

The Palestinian press in the occupied territories can best be discussed in the context of the overall objectives of both Israel and the Palestinians. The overriding objective of Israel is to maintain its occupation at a minimal cost. The overriding objective of the Palestinians is to rid themselves of the occupation. The Palestinian press fulfils both of these contradictory objectives, regardless of what it perceives its role to be.

From Israel's vantage point, the Palestinian press serves a number of purposes. The existence of any press, even one that is by no means "free" nevertheless provides those who are politically active and conscious with a medium of expression. Thus, the press is seen as important in defusing tension among a segment of the population. The absence of this outlet could lead to a much more dangerous alternative, such as an underground press or, possibly, violent action. In this view, Israel is better off having a press over which it exercises control than it would be having an underground Palestinian voice free of Israeli control and undoubtedly radical and incitive in nature.

The press also provides Israel with "evidence" that its occupation is a "liberal" one. Some publicity-conscious Israelis claim that Palestinian media under Israeli control are quite often freer and more critical than most of the press in the Arab world.

Ultimately, it is the censor who becomes the editor of the Palestinian press. The editor-in-chief of a Palestinian newspaper or magazine, like myself, provides the censor with material he or she would like to publish; the censor has the power to decide what should and should not appear in print. Censorship regulations currently in force are those enacted by the British Mandatory government in 1945 in the form of Emergency Defence Regulations No. 88. These regulations authorise the military censor to prohibit the publication of any material that "in his opinion would be, or be likely to be, or become prejudicial to the defence of the State or to public safety or to public order." The censor also has unlimited authority to order a publisher to submit for inspection any items intended for publication. In fact, the censor periodically makes it a point to reiterate the newspapers' obligation, under existing laws, to "present all material to the censor including headlines and pictures." A newspaper not complying could face serious consequences, including a phone call to the newspaper editor, a written warning, confiscation of the entire newspaper stock, or even the closing of the paper.

Israel itself benefits from the press as a source of information and political analysis. Information collected from local papers is useful to Israel's intelligence services in the occupied territories. The political analysis and opinions expressed in this forum reflect the political trends and mood of the populace. An article does not need to be published in order for Israeli intelligence to benefit from it, since the censor sees everything *intended* for publication. Hence, if the censor chooses to cut part or all of an article, he remains the only one besides the newspaper editor to see it. In some cases, Israelis have presented an author with an article that was censored in order to demonstrate their "knowledge" of the author's political preferences. A number of people accused of being "security risks" have been confronted with censored articles that they had written.

Israel has made it a point to grant publishing licences to Palestinians with divergent political views, ranging from those with additional loyalties such as communists and pro-Jordanians to those whose loyalty is only to the PLO. Besides generally gaining exposure to the thoughts of these groups, Israel's aim has been twofold. First, it enhances its "liberal" image by allowing groups with wide-ranging political views to express them. Second, it provides the means for these groups to engage in verbal battle with one another and thus to provide "evidence" that Palestinians are divided. (For this reason, *Al Fajr* has a policy of attacking no other Palestinian newspaper or magazine by name, but merely criticising general policies.)

The press is viewed as a strong mobilising medium and as a tool of information and education under occupation, since it is no doubt much more difficult for the Israelis to control an educated and sophisticated population than an illiterate one. Indeed, this could partly explain why Israel has been cracking down on Palestinian higher educational institutions and why Israel was so harsh on Al-Najah University, the largest Palestinian university, which it ordered to shut down for four months in late July 1984. The closure disrupted two academic years and affected hundreds of students.

A main function of any press is to gather information. Naturally, the Palestinian press concentrates on information that is both political and relevant to the Palestinians themselves, such as land confiscations, human rights violations, harassments, arrests, and trials of suspected PLO members. Although much of this information is censored, its presence on file at the individual newspapers serves to document Palestinian history in the occupied territories.

Another important function of the Palestinian press from the PLO's perspective is to monitor various opinions, ideas, and trends by soliciting writers, conducting interviews with leading personalities, or simply reporting on the general public's view.

Occasionally, the press has attempted to mobilise public opinion by presenting the beliefs of leading nationalist personalities on particular issues. This procedure has also been used to influence Palestinians living outside the occupied territories to carry out a particular policy or to urge dissenters to conform with a majority decision. For example, in 1984 some Palestinian factions refused to attend a meeting of the Palestine National Council, which serves as a parliament-in-exile, out of fear that their opinions would be engulfed by the majority; under the guise of preserving national unity, these factions were demanding virtual veto power in the Council. *Al Fajr's* Arabic daily headline of September 5, 1984, read: "The Institutions and the Nationalist Personalities in the Occupied Territories: We Support the Convening of the Palestine National Council to Continue the March and to Save the People and the Land." *Al Fajr* then quoted mayors, union leaders, student groups, and others who unanimously supported the speedy convening of the Council.

The PLO has often used the press of the occupied territories in its disputes with other Arab countries. Ironically, Palestinians in the occupied territories, being out of the reach of most of these Arab regimes, exercise little restraint in criticising them, which explains why distribution of the Palestinian press is banned in countries such as Jordan and Syria. On a daily basis, PLO radio stations broadcast these newspapers' editorials, which at times criticise other Arab regimes much more than the PLO itself does because of its presence in some of those Arab states. On separate occasions, Presidents Nasser and Sadat of Egypt ordered the PLO radio station in Cairo shut down for criticising Egypt. However, it would be a massive challenge for an Arab country to try to shut down a newspaper under Israel's occupation. Recognising this, the PLO points to the press in the occupied territories as an articulation of Palestinian beliefs and as a symbol of its legitimacy. The press sees itself as a participant rather than only an observer, aiming to influence the course of events and support the PLO'S general policies. Thus, the press and the PLO seek to educate and inform the population for the same reasons.

> ULTIMATELY IT IS THE CENSOR WHO BECOMES THE EDITOR OF THE PALESTINIAN PRESS.

The front pages of most Palestinian newspapers are filled with PLO and Palestinian news from around the world. This extensive coverage preserves a public record of day-to-day history, which is often the target of the Israeli censor. For example, the censor prohibited all Palestinian newspapers from mentioning the burning of the al-Aqsa mosque in 1984.

An extremely important role of the press is to expose the agents of the occupation, even under the watchful eyes of the censor. *Al Fajr* played a key role in exposing the so-called Village Leagues as Israeli agents. The Israelis created the Village Leagues to demonstrate the existence in the occupied territories of a cooperative "silent majority." Since over half of the Palestinians lived in villages, it was reasoned, away from the cities that were perceived as pro-PLO strongholds, nurturing this "silent majority" as an alternative to the PLO would result in a Palestinian partner acceptable to the Israelis and willing to live under an Israeli-created umbrella. The press exposed this plan, calling the newly created Village Leagues "traitors" and "agents of Israel." The Village Leagues retaliated by physically attacking *Al Fajr* newspaper offices; Israel, in turn, retaliated by censoring any mention of the Village Leagues in the Palestinian press. By late 1984, the Village Leagues had lost favour even with the Israelis, not only because they failed to attract a widespread following but also because they harboured criminals who attacked civilians and their property (even against Israeli-imposed laws). The press was then allowed to describe the Village Leagues as "thugs and criminals."

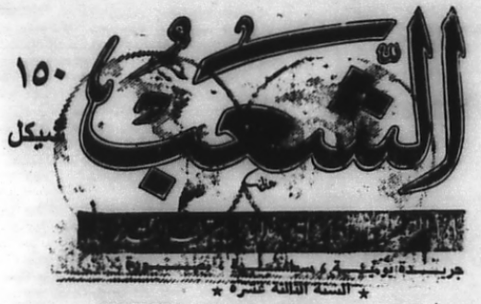
The Palestinian press has not been content to simply support the policies and actions adopted by the PLO. Some newspapers, for instance, criticised PLO military actions against civilians, insisting that Palestinians eventually pay a higher price for such violence and that international support and sympathy could not be gained through such acts. On another issue, some newspapers took the lead in calling upon the Palestine National Council to abandon the principle of unanimity vote in favour of a majority rule. The editorials of the Palestinian press are carefully monitored by the PLO as indicators of public opinion in the occupied territories.

Naturally, each newspaper has its own interests and leanings. *Al Quds*, for example, is known to have close ties with Jordan. *Al Fajr* and *Al Sha'ab* have a strictly pro-PLO line, while *Al Tali'a* is a communist newspaper and *Al Mithaq* is on the extreme left of the political spectrum, often attacking Yasir Arafat and the PLO leadership. The common denominators of all of the newspapers, however, are getting rid of the occupation and creating a Palestinian state.

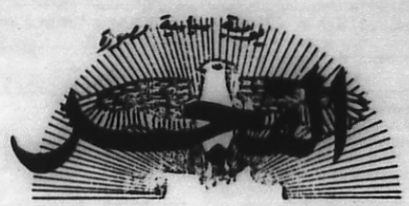
On a nonpolitical level, the press plays a social role and, at times, the role of a peacemaker. People air their complaints and grievances against not only the Israelis but also fellow Palestinians. These complaints deal with problems ranging from garbage collection to alleged abuse or mistreatment incurred at the hands of a landlord or a school principal. A section dealing with the emotional and social problems of the young is also popular.

At times, people have turned to the media to help solve a problem or intervene on someome's behalf. *Al Fajr*, for example, mediated a problem over tuition between the administration of Polytechnic Institute in Hebron and the Student Council. *Al Fajr* also intervened on behalf of the expelled student council president of a college run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. In the absence of a national government authority and with the dismantling of most Palestinian municipalities, people have had few places to turn, and the press has been one of them.

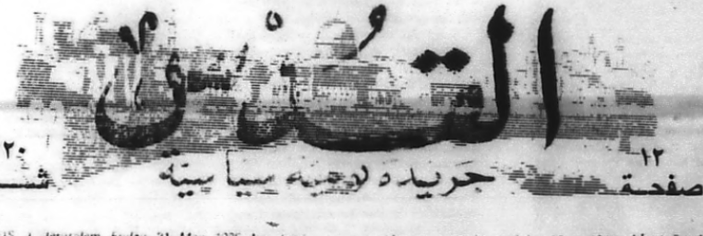
Although the Palestinian press realises it unwillingly serves Israel's objective of helping maintain the occupation, this has not been a sufficient reason to stop publication. The press knows it is being used and, at the same time, realises that under the present circumstances it can do nothing about it. The *status quo* is acceptable as long as the benefits outweigh the costs. For its part, as long as Israel continues to perceive that it is benefiting from the existence of the press and the cost is bearable, the press will survive. The moment Israel decides that the cost is too high, politically or otherwise, it will move to eliminate the nationalist Palestinian press under its occupation. ■



Al Tali'a Weekly



Al Fajr Arabic Daily



Al Mithaq Daily

News Analysis

Continued from page 5

a more substantial agreement regarding the Palestinian problem. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and later the US failure to produce any permanent Israeli-Lebanese agreement caused the US to withdraw from its active role. Today the Reagan administration is apparently convinced that it must make concrete moves in the Middle East in order to produce positive results. Syria's growing strength and influence coupled with the possibility that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat would rejoin Palestinian radicals who favour a military solution pushed the US into acting quickly.

The US move has come at a very crucial time for Palestinians. Politically, Chairman Arafat's agreement with Jordan continues to be the focus of strong attack by most Palestinian factions (with the exception of Arafat's own Fatah and the Iraqi-based Arab Liberation Front). Militarily, the Palestinians have united during the past few weeks in Beirut's refugee camps in a courageous attempt to defend the Palestinian camps from being erased by the Amal militias. Palestinian military unity and the weakening of relations between radical Palestinian factions and Syria have given Arafat a golden opportunity to reunite the various PLO factions. This unity would only be possible if Arafat publicly distanced himself from the chase after Jordan and the US or, alternatively, if he could produce tangible results to show the wisdom of his political intuition. For Arafat, thus, the time factor is crucial as he looks over his shoulder to Palestinian leaders who are sharply questioning the viability of his policies.

Arafat is not the only one concerned with results. Jordan and the US, each for different reasons, are similarly eager to show that their actions and policies are producing tangible results. In order to obtain such results Jordan, and to a lesser degree Egypt and Saudi Arabia, have pressed the US for some sort of recognition of the PLO and the Palestinian right to self-determination as well as international sponsorship of negotiations. The US has also been under Israeli pressure to push Hussein the other direction and call for direct Israeli-Arab negotiations.

For the time being the US has chosen to please both groups by accepting to meet with PNC members, while at the same time assuring Israelis that these PNC members are not active PLO members. The distinction is non-existent, but the Americans now seem determined to meet such a Jordanian-PNC delegation. This announcement by itself has caused a major split in Israel. While the ruling Labour Party has not totally rejected the idea, their Likud partners in the coalition government have totally rejected anything that has the slightest possibility of leading to "territorial compromise." The continuation of US pressure, even without a resort to economic pressure, might very well lead to the fall of the Labour-Likud government, a prospect which leaves in doubt who would win any future elections in Israel. One Israeli newspaper called the latest US proposals "a political Yom Kippur" for Israel.

The latest US political manoeuvring, much of it a result of different Palestinian and Israeli pressures, can be considered a victory for Palestinian diplomacy. The Palestinians and the Arabs have clearly put the ball in the American court, and the Americans have quickly responded by volleying it over to the Israeli court. This diplomatic move will give the Arabs a number of advantage points as far as international public opinion is concerned and it will also call Israel's bluff. It's clear that a very strong sector of the Israeli public doesn't want any kind of concession whatsoever on "Eretz Israel." Now the Israelis have to face the fact that what they have been claiming for so long has come true: the Arabs are ready to talk. Are they? If so, *'Ahlan wa Sahlan.'* If not, at least the record will have been set straight.

If, within a reasonable time, the Palestinians and the Arab states (except Syria) get nowhere with Israel, they will have to resort to a different tactic to try to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. The alternative Arab plan might not be to the benefit of the US, Israel or world peace. ■

Below is the fourth of a series of interviews with Arabs who are members of the Israeli Knesset. The interviews, conducted by *Al Fajr*'s **Kate Rouhana**, are published in alphabetical order.

Arab Members of Knesset

Nasr ed-Din: Begin's Hand-Picked Man

Amal Nasr ed-Din was born in 1928 in the village of Daliyyat al-Carmel atop Mount Carmel. He went to a Hebrew high school in Haifa during the British Mandate, and later pursued his education through special courses in various places, including Hebrew University. He served his term in the Israeli army, and then ran a construction company from 1953-60.

In 1957, Nasr ed-Din was elected vice-head of the local council in his village, and in 1964, he became secretary of the local councils of Daliyyat al-Carmel and the neighbouring Isfiya. Also in the 1960's, he headed the department of minority veterans.

Nasr ed-Din ran on the Labour list several times but never reached the Knesset. In 1973 he left the Labour Party and joined Likud, the right-wing party of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, as no. 42 on their Knesset list. In 1977 he moved up to no. 39 and entered the Knesset for the first time. In 1981 he was no. 35, and now he is no. 28.

Amal Nasr ed-Din

Nasr ed-Din defines himself as a "Druze. And an Israeli Druze, of course — I am an Israeli citizen."

His membership in the right-wing Likud Party — which has voted for such things as the Lebanon War in 1982 and the annexation of the Golan Heights in 1981 — and his self-definition make Amal Nasr ed-Din by far the most controversial MK in the eyes of the Arab public. Nasr ed-Din does not consider himself an Arab, only a Druze. He thereby makes an artificial distinction between "Druze" and "Arab," something which the Israeli government encourages. The overwhelming majority of Arabs would not make such a distinction.

On how he joined the Likud Party: "I arrived at the Likud after I became very disillusioned with the Labour Party. Labour has *no overall* plan for the Arabs of Israel. They have many stories, nice words, smiles, but action — none. I ran for elections twice or three times, but they didn't choose me — the Labour Party — they persecuted me. They always pushed me down to a lower position, so I'd not get in [to the Knesset]. They preferred the elder (Arab leaders) to the younger. Because the elder leaders did not make problems for them. Whatever they told them to do, they did. I said, I'm going to leave politics; that's it. I set up a branch of *Mifa'ale Gibor* (an Israeli clothing factory) in Daliyyat al-Carmel, Kiryat Shmone, and those places, and I employed many Arabs and Druze.

"At the time, the head of the opposition was Menachem Begin. Begin called me. I didn't know him. I had only read about him in the papers. He heard about me because when I left Labour, I held a press conference and I said what had to be said. So he called me personally. I went to him; he received me very nicely. And he told me, 'You need to study Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky said, "We are coming to set up a Jewish state in the middle of an Arab sea; the whole region is Arab. We need to be neighbourly and friendly to the Arabs; we need to have full equality in the state between Arabs and Jews." Study his philosophy.' He turned to me two or three times. 'Learn it, read; you'll see.' He gave me Jabotinsky's books. They fascinated me. I mean, that's a good policy, it's not just talk. It's not just in the air; it's written.

On Likud's attitude towards the Arabs in Israel: "After the third meeting, I joined. He believes in full equality between all citizens of the state of Israel. The good thing about Likud is, they tell you 'This is *Eretz Israel*. There is no argument about it — this is our land. In this land, there is an Arab minority that lives inside the state. This minority must receive full rights. Without favours — he's a citizen; he must receive his rights.' In the Labour Party they don't see things that way. They talk and talk — but they don't do a thing.

"Under the seven years of Likud rule, the Arab public and villages progressed. They progressed 10 times more than during the 29-year rule of the Labour Party. In the Druze villages, 340 classrooms were built. For the Muslims and Christians, 600 classrooms were built. Many roads were paved within the village. During those seven years, they made the Arab citizen understand that he had rights and he should ask for them.

"So all this tells you the Likud is more understanding of Arab needs and more active.

On the role of the Arabs in the Jewish state: "Today, I see that when Menachem Begin told me, 'Here is the place for you (pl), not there,' I see that he was correct. That's the truth of the matter. This is a Jewish state. The Arabs in Israel can't change a thing. We are not a state. We are citizens, a minority, that live in a state which has a Jewish majority. A Jewish state, not a Jewish-Arab state. We need to get integrated into their life. We have two choices: either to get up and go home — everyone who has a home, let him leave the state. Whoever wants to go to Hussein, let him go to Hussein; to Mubarak, to Syria. Whoever wants to stay here, he accepts that this is his state. I, for example, see this state as my own. There is no difference between a Jew and myself. He may be a majority and I a minority, but from the point of view of rights, I won't stand for it — I want my rights. And I'm getting them! That's what everyone here must understand...

On whom he represents: "I represent all sectors of ethnic groups in the country. I see Jews, Druze, Christians, and Muslims. They all come to me. And I don't ask them, 'Who are you?' I can't define myself as a 'Druze' or say that I am a 'Druze MK.' I am an *Israeli* MK. Anyone who asks me for help, I'll help him. An MK cannot serve only a certain sector of the public. He needs to be a general MK.

"Today, for example, more Muslims come to me. The whole Beduin community from the villages comes to me. The Druze have entered the stream in an altogether different manner. They already have their full rights. Today, we are working so that the Arab — the Muslims and Christians — will get their rights...

On discrimination in his party: "I wouldn't have stayed in the party one more day if I had felt any discrimination. In Likud they treated me positively, they liked me, and they respected me. I have my own opinions; I don't hesitate to express them. I am a member of the Party directorate, the central committee, the national council, and I am an MK. There are no secrets in the Likud, or committees that are closed to me. Not like in the Labour Party...

On political strategy for the Arabs in Israel: "The Arab is a citizen of the state of Israel. He must receive everything he deserves. Now, how do I see it? I suggested from the Knesset rostrum to appoint an Arab minister in the government of Israel. Today, there are 26 ministers. Each one deals with a small fragment of the Arab population. Sometimes, he doesn't do it well. He has no time. I want a minister sitting in the government with an Arab portfolio. He will have a budget of IS10 billion. If he wants to build 200 housing units, he has the money for it. A hundred classrooms — he has the budget. Ten kilometres of paved roads — he has it. If Shamir will become prime minister in place of Peres, I will insist that there be an Arab minister. And don't start thinking that I want that for myself! Absolutely not. It's an idea, a principle. That way we'll begin, bit by bit, to solve our problems. But if we leave it to coordinators, advisers, and 'Arabists,' or to our Arab leadership who have no idea what they want, all will be lost.

"I can dream one thing for you: that the Arabs in the country would be fully integrated into the life of the country, and they shouldn't have any aspirations outside that. We are part of a democratic state; we must do the maximum, but within the framework of the state of Israel...

On the relationship between Arabs in Israel and Palestinians 'outside': "I don't see any relationship between the Arabs of Israel and the Palestinians outside the state. I think that in 1948, the whole picture changed in the Middle East, especially in the state of Israel. No one told the Arabs of Israel to leave the country. The only ones who told them to do so were the Arab kings and presidents. They wronged them. They committed an even graver error when it was decided to establish two states, a Palestinian state and a Jewish state, and the Arabs said, 'Jews to the sea. We must throw them to the sea.' So I think the Palestinians — the Arabs who were in the land of Israel, they were the most attached to their land. They are the ones who behaved wisely and did not listen to the Arab kings and presidents. I think that in the year 1948, they erected a barrier between themselves and those who left. Even the Arab states don't recognise a Palestinian people. The Arabs who are here are Israeli Arabs

Continued on page 15

The Likud platform for 1984 was unavailable. However, it is not likely to have changed very much since 1981, so we excerpt below the Likud platform for the 1981 elections.

"1. The right of the Jewish people to The Land of Israel is an eternal right, it cannot be challenged, and it is inherent in our right to security and peace.

"2. The State of Israel has the right to demand sovereignty over Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip; at the end of the transition period that was determined by the Camp David accords, Israel will put forth this demand and act to realise this right.

"3. Any plan which involves the return of any part of the Western Land of Israel to foreign rule, such as the Alignment's plan, undermines our right to the land, it inevitably leads to the establishment of a "Palestinian" state, it damages the security of the civilian population, it endangers the existence of the State of Israel, and it eliminates any possibility for peace.

"4. The autonomy arrangements that were agreed upon at Camp David are the guarantee that under no condition will a "Palestinian" state arise on the territory of The Western Land of Israel...

"The autonomy that was agreed upon at Camp David is not a state, is not sovereignty, and it is not self-determination. The Arab nation was given its self-determination by means of the existence of twenty-one independent Arab states....

"5. The terrorist organisation which is known as the PLO aspires to the destruction of the State of Israel. There will be no negotiations with this murderous organisation, which directs its weapons, supplied to it by the Soviet Union, with conscious intent, against men, women, and children.

"6. The settlement activity which was carried out in the past four years is very impressive.

"Settlement in the Land of Israel is a right and an integral part of the security of the nation...

"7. Jerusalem, the eternal capital of Israel, is one city which cannot be divided in any way."

The Gutter

A Short Story

by Izat al-Ghazawi

Although she was no more than 11 years old, she knew that there was an eternity between her and the evening call to prayer. She glanced at the blazing disc of the sun with a sort of lamentation as she laid her emaciated hand on her dirty dress and rubbed her stomach. She felt as if something was making its way under her skin to stick to her backbone and thought suddenly of the heap of pebbles that she had been tossing into the gutter, a pastime she had learned from her grandmother.

Why didn't Ramadan come in winter anymore? The picture of the blazing hearth and her grandmother were a part of Ramadan, but now that it was her turn to fast, the picture had changed. "Remember," her grandmother would always say, "when I was little, I learned to pass the time by tossing pebbles into the gutter. They would sink slowly into mud, then disappear. How lovely it was!" But Grandmother, you were there in the village, before the 'flood and earthquake,' as Father calls it... but now, I'm in the camp....

She did not linger in these meditations, but followed her playmates. A butterfly was fluttering around Abu Ibrahim's shop. She grabbed a handful of the raisins displayed in the black leather basket on the street corner and with her small fingers she shoved the booty into her dirty pocket.

"Hold on Amina! Wait everyone!"

She swallowed hard when she remembered that stealing was a sin, especially in Ramadan. Please, God, this day doesn't count ... but a quick survey by her fingers in the folds of her pocket made her stop suddenly. A few walnuts, a small piece of qamardine, three dates. All that stolen! And there was no doubt that Salah al-Atrash had seen her take the dates, because she had noticed him eye her pocket, while he weighed the kilo of sugar. She had been sure he would grab her skinny hand and search her bulging pocket. Then he would pull her hair and take her home.... But none of this happened. He just handed her the bunch of groceries he had weighed and quickly reached for a pen to make a note of "the account." He smiled at her maliciously and said unexpectedly:

"How is your father, the *haj*?"

She felt proud. This man who owned all these things in this big shop was asking about her father, who lay on a shabby bed under a tin roof which trembled in every breeze and blazed with every ray of sun.

"He's fine, thank you." And she was turning to leave the shop when he surprised her with another question:

"Are you fasting?"

"Yes, of course!"

"Is that the truth?"

She felt his malicious eyes accusing her. They passed over her dirty dress and came to rest on a point around the middle of her pocket, where she had her small things. She felt an urgent need to get out of the shop and escape to the street, only a few paces away, but instead she cried in his face:

"Yes, I'm really fasting. I swear it! Look!"

And she held out her thin white tongue to prove the truth of her words. But another client entered the shop so she hurried out before Salah al-Atrash had a chance to verify that she was indeed fasting.

She felt as if she could taste the sweetness of the raisins as she skipped barefoot over the stones and thorns of the graveyard by the shortest path to the smooth pavement of the Eid. She saw Amina's golden braids flying about in the breeze and felt that she must catch up with her companions, so she hastened her step. She did not feel safe until she heard Amina cry:

"Come on, silly. They're ahead of us!"

She had to wait her turn in jump rope, as usual. Even Amina was always telling her: "You come later." So she sat alone on the edge of the gutter and began to toss pebbles over the heaps of mud immersed in the murky darkness. She wondered to herself if this gutter, formed by the action of the filthy sewer water, was like the gutter of the village that her grandmother talked about. But the distant voices of the children playing interrupted her meditation. She waited a long time before her turn came. She suddenly stopped tossing pebbles into the gutter and began to follow the wild and graceful movements of her companions and the intonation of their high voices. She all but fell in with the movement and the voices. She flew like the butterfly. She jumped so the rope could brush against the ground then landed in order to jump once again. The high voices counted the pulsations of endurance as the minutes passed. She saw envy in the eyes of her playmates as she soared far away and the rope was the trail of mist of her departure for a world without limits. The mist swayed to and fro at an ethereal point woven with all the colours of the rainbow. A deep voice asked her:

"Why did you come here, Latifa?"

She became confused. She wanted to ask all the questions to which she had no answer. She wondered at the depth and purity of the voice and where it might come from, as it urgently insisted:

"Why did you come, Latifa?"

She was confused. Should she answer with a question when she knew the voice wanted an answer? She blurted out through her tight lips:

"Why did I come? Because my turn hasn't come yet!"

"A turn doesn't come, Latifa. It is taken."

She smiled at the thought. Many questions crowded her imagination.

"How is it taken?"

She felt herself move backward. Perhaps she was landing. The deep voice disappeared behind the noise of the trains speeding through the open country behind the neighbouring hills and a deep gloom spread through her empty insides. From where could she jump? She did not believe Amina's voice as she cried sharply:

"Latifa ... Latifa, your turn has come!"

"But a turn doesn't come! It...!" She did not move from her spot. She remained seated with a strange calm on the mound of dirt before the gutter as she looked into nothingness.

"What's wrong, Latifa? Your turn has come!"

She wanted desperately to cry, but she averted her downcast face and held back the tears. She knew that Amina's intelligent eyes would be able to penetrate her depths and that she would be stripped bare, just as the grapevine is stripped bare by the rain. Perhaps she would pretend to fall so that her sorrowful voice would not betray her. She played with her fingers then felt the sides of her wretched stomach behind her dirty grey dress. A miracle would have to happen to deliver her from the many questions that clouded her vision then penetrated her depths to remain embedded there. The sounds from behind the mountains had abated and it was not long before they died out in the distance, as if they were a bell sounding the end of a lesson.

One of the girls was carefully rolling up the rope and putting it in her pocket. So the game had finished! Soon she would dully follow her companions down the narrow path filled with cow dung. The distinctive penetrating odour filled her nostrils as her eyes surveyed the foods spread out on the clean mats before the houses. The high minaret of the mosque suddenly appeared before her, so high that it seemed like a part of the clouds. She approached the worn foundation of the mosque and touched it, then glanced furtively through the window and an ancient coldness met her and swept through her entire body. She imagined herself on a faded carpet reciting incantations and prayers. The voices of her playmates and the other girls of the neighbourhood rescued her from her trance:

Old Ramadan died
Oh no, he's alive!
His sister Halima came
And wept over his great frame!

The tone of the voices changed gradually as the darkness grew and a sharp voice cried out:

Call the prayer, O Muezzin
With long ears
And short chin.
Your wife, Suhad
Arrived from abroad
Two youths from Hussein
Met her in the lane

The chant continued and she repeated the lovely words with her tongue without saying them out loud. She tried to look cheerfully into the faces of her companions, but Suad was shouting angrily as Amina vigorously shook her head and protested sharply. Sheikh Abu al-Sa'oud interrupted the mere thought of her looking at her companions. She knew that he was sharply ordering everyone to leave the place. The thin legs took off and scurried through the alleyways, disturbing the mounds of dust scattered here and there around the tin houses.

She walked unhurriedly and the silence had a quality of loneliness she had never known before. She did not examine, as she usually did, the mats before the houses, laid out with foods. However, she could do nothing against the various smells which surrounded her. The way seemed long, so she sat down on a doorstep for a moment. She wished that her house had a small mat like the rest of the houses did, laid out with any kind of food, but .... She reached into her small pocket and surveyed her small possessions, then continued on her way. She had only a few steps left when she stumbled and fell near the doorstep. The raisins and dates spilled out through the narrow passageway. She felt a thin, warm thread pass over her brow and fall on her nostrils and she smiled at the faint light glowing from the window. ■

Izat al-Ghazawi is an instructor of English at Bir Zeit University and comes from Tulkarm.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Palestinian newspapers continued for the fourth week to focus on the tragic situation in Beirut and the brutal assault on the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh.

Local papers vehemently denounced the barbaric attacks and blamed Syria and the other Arab countries for their tacit approval of the Palestinian bloodshed.

The continued settler harassment of released Palestinian prisoners received consistent coverage in local papers.

By week's end, the latest US moves attempting to regenerate the "peace process" received mixed coverage in the local press. *Al Sha'ab* and *Al Mithaq* dailies strongly attacked the US moves while *Al Quds* and *Al Fajr* have remained silent about them.

Will History Repeat Itself?

The war being fought by the Palestinians was not initiated by them. They are the victims and had no other way but to defend themselves. The war is not directed at the Shi'ites as such. It is an expression of the rejection of the point of view of Amal's leaders who see the solution of the Lebanese crisis in its separation from the Palestinian cause and the liquidation of the civil and military Palestinian presence in Lebanon in preparation for establishing sectarian entities.

We are against describing all Shi'ites as anti-Palestinians. True there were some sensitivities and abuses. But it is certainly true that the Shi'ites sense of importance was formulated by the Palestinian presence which taught the Shi'ites to carry arms in the face of the stronger faction — the Maronites.

Just yesterday there were reports that some members of the sixth Lebanese Army brigade refused the orders issued to them to annihilate their Palestinian brethren. They joined the Druze militia which is neutral. But some joined the forces of justice and right.

So, nothing is left for Syria but to commit its own forces in the fighting and to take off the mask from its black hatred of the Palestinian people. It will send back its forces to Beirut to do what Israel has failed to do in the Palestinian camps.

The Israeli army will complete its withdrawal within days. Will the Syrian army, then, reappear on the Lebanese scene after a complete absence during the Israeli invasion?

AL QUDS
May 30

The Palestinian People Will Never Bow Down

Every day the collusion between Amal and the Lebanese factional army becomes clearer and more emphasised. They have both agreed to strike out the Palestinian presence in all of Lebanon.

Amal's refusal to abide by the ceasefire and to allow the Red Cross to evacuate the wounded and its continuing aggression, cannot be accounted for except in this light.

The Palestinian resistance against this dirty conspiracy has caused confusion in the ranks of the movement and its supporters. This Palestinian steadfastness will continue. And the honest elements in Amal and the Lebanese army will continue to disobey orders to carry out the hostile plans.

AL MITHAQ
May 30

Going Back On One's Mistake... Is a Duty

We realise the extent of confusion felt by some Palestinian factions living in Damascus after the massacres carried out by Amal. But we point out that knowing the reality of Assad's regime should push the Palestinian factions to take a clear stand. Any hesitation in this regard will encourage Assad's regime to go further.

The last thing we wanted to hear was the statement issued in Damascus in the name of the Salvation Front. The statement was full of abuse against Abu Ammar. The danger of this statement lies in two points. First, it may turn away the attention from what is going on in the camps. Second, it provides propoganda to the Amal gangs and the Syrian regime.

We always like to have good intentions and to say that the statement is the result of the state of confusion prevailing among the forces. But the national responsibility requires these forces to know their duty... that is, the commitment to national unity and to reveal the Syrian role.

AL SHA'AB
May 30

When Will the World Realise this Right?

Claude Cheysson, the European commissioner and the ex-French foreign minister, told Yasir Arafat, the PLO chairman, what no other Arab leader has told him. He believes in the Palestinian cause and sees the inevitability of confronting the massacres against the Palestinian people. He said to Arafat: "The world did not realise yet that no reply can be given to your people except the belief in its right to build up its own future within the context of freedom and peace as the rest of the world peoples."

No one has ever said this to Hafez al-Assad to bring him face to face with his crime and to reveal all the masks. That is the real tragedy. Is it the war of the camps or the war of the defeated capitals? For the second week the camps and the PLO held their ground. And no one said anything except what is broadcast officially. In the second week our great poet Mahmoud Darwish writes: "Sabra and Shatila No. 2 is much more cruel than Sabra and Shatila No. 1."

AL FAJR
May 31

The Palestinian - Jordanian Invariables

It seems that King Hussein has been able to convince the US administration of the need to open dialogue with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that may include Palestinian PNC members.

In the event of such a meeting, this does not mean that the US has changed its position. Despite the significance of such meetings the US has to do more. It has to define its position toward the Amman agreement.

The talk about 242 and 338 is not enough. It has to be supplemented by an initiative to grant the Palestinian people its right to self-determination. This item was stated clearly in the Amman agreement. And talk about confederation is not enough unless there are two independent states, again stated clearly in the Amman agreement. We should recall the Amman agreement about the context of negotiations which are to be conducted within the framework of an international conference attended by all concerned parties, including the PLO.

These are the invariables as stated in the Amman agreement. The two parties (Jordan and the Palestinians) should adhere to what they have agreed upon.

The US has to take seriously the efforts made by Jordan and the Palestinians. The invariables are quite clear.

AL QUDS
June 3

Not Merely a "Misunderstanding"

We have repeated more than once that we realise the confusion and embarrassment felt by some Palestinian leaders staying in Damascus. And we said this embarrassment may delay decisive moving toward the right position. The source of embarrassment is quite clear. It is Assad's killing of our people in cooperation with Berri.

Lebanon is being divided. And an agreement is being implemented. Overnight all the Palestinian leaderships began to talk with one voice.

The issue concerns the approach of the Syrian regime and its decision to launch a genocide to do what Israel had failed to accomplish in 1982. The issue now is the existence of the Palestinian people and the fate of its cause.

We do not say this out of enmity to Syria, its role, the people, and the homeland. Assad certainly does not represent the true aspirations and goals of this noble Arab people. We are looking forward to the day when Syria would return to its revolutionary position to practise its real and strong role.

We demand that all Palestinian forces read the reality carefully and get rid of the pressure, slogans, and the political and organisational embarrassment. They have to take a clear position toward the Syrian role and to adhere to PLO legitimacy to forge a strong national unity.

AL SHA'AB
June 3

40 Gaza Fishermen Arrested

Israeli military authorities arrested 40 fishermen from the Gaza Strip June 1 and seized their boats for allegedly fishing outside the zone designated for them by the military government. The fishermen were later released pending trial.

The 40 fishermen were allegedly outside the fishing zone when an Israeli sea patrol spotted their boats and ordered them back into Gazan waters where they were arrested and their boats seized. Their trial date has not yet been set. The fishing zone which was imposed on the fishermen following the return of Sinai to Egypt in 1982, stretches from Beit Lahia, just north of Gaza City, to Rafah. It is 14 kilometres wide and 26 kilometres deep. Prior to 1982, Gazan fishermen could operate off the coast of Sinai famous for its abundant fish stocks.

Similar cases in the past ended in fines of IS1 million to IS2 million for the fishermen and seizure of their boats for six to nine months.

Sources in the Fishermen's Union in Gaza told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli practices of arresting fishermen and seizing their boats are designed to "destroy the Gazan fish industry to facilitate Israeli takeover of the fish market in Gaza." The government-designated fishing zone, the sources said, was never acceptable to the over 1200 operating fishermen becuase it is too small and it does not contain many brands of fish in demand on the Gazan market. Some of the most popular and commercially profitable fish can only be caught at depths outside the fishing zone.

Israeli fishermen, on the other hand, are permitted to operate along the Israeli and Gazan coasts without restrictions.

One fisherman who asked not to be identified told *Al Fajr* that "the Israeli authorities would rather see us become wage labourers in Israel than operate in the sea, beause then they would gain cheap labour and at the same time give our market to their people." According to him, Israeli authorities harass Palestinian fishermen continuously, often boarding their ships on the pretext of checking fishing permits and physically abusing fishermen. The restrictions imposed by way of the fishing zone was the biggest blow to their industry, he said.

Dozens of fishermen have declared bankcuptcy since 1982 because of the new zone and the arrest-and-seizure campaign.

Israel Rejects

Continued from page 1

(Labour) similarly rejected meeting with the PLO. Rabin who is on an official visit to the US told American TV audiences that the PLO had no role to play in any peace process. Likud politicians reiterated their refusal to consider any territorial compromise and several warned that PLO participation in talks would end in an independent Palestinian state.

Israeli analysts were concerned that the US-Jordanian intiative might break up the Israeli national unity government, because of Peres's initial silence on the initiative. Peres' letter to Shultz rejecting the proposal that a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation meet US officials appears to have temporarily averted the crisis.

Peres's reply came amidst increased reports in the local and international media that a meeting would take place between US Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East, Richard Murphy, and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation in Amman within a month.

The Jordanian daily *Sawt al Sha'ab* was quoted as saying that the Palestinian delegation will consist of Hikmat al-Masri, deputy speaker of the Jordanian Senate and chairman of the Board of Trustees at Najah University, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, former Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawwa, and former Jordanian Defence Minister Anwar Nuseibeh. Delegates from abroad would include three Palestinian professors residing in the US, Hisham Sharabi, Edward Said and Walid Khalidi. Said is a member of the PNC.

Local newspapers quoted Jordan's foreign minister as saying that the meeting will be a prelude to the PLO's recognition of Israel in exchange for US recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. He added that the second step would be to get PLO members to participate in the peace process, which is to start at the end of this year under international auspices.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat reportedly welcomed the results of Hussein's US visit. During a meeting with Jordan's Prime Minister Zeid al-Rifa'i in Amman June 3, Arafat reportedly "thanked" Hussein for his efforts and "expressed hope that the joint efforts will achieve the Palestinian rights," according to the Jordanian press. The head of the PLO's political department Farouq Qaddoumi, however, said June 5 that Hussein's visit to the US did not produce anything new. Speaking to reporters in Sweden where he arrived for talks with Swedish officials, Qaddoumi said the US reiterated its rejection of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Earlier Fatah Central Committee member Salah Khalaf insisted that the PLO is not ready to back down on the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

The Jordanian and US efforts received mixed response by newspapers. *Al Fajr* Arabic daily has remained quiet about the intiative in the occupied territories. *Al Sha'ab* Arabic daily described the present American play as a "liquidationist programme." In its June 5 editorial the paper wrote, "At the time when the whole world is talking about the genocide [in Lebanon], the US seizes the opportunity made available by the Syrian regime and presents liquidation programmes that bypass the PLO."

Al Mithaq Arabic daily also blasted the US-Jordanian proposals as a "liquidation solution exploiting the situation in Lebanon." The paper also criticised PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat for "his willingness" to participate in the proposed direct negotiations.

Likewise *Al Tali'a* weekly blasted the US-Jordanian moves and called for resisting them. *Al Quds* daily which praised the American moves after three years of stalemate said that the "belief in peace should be deeply established in Israel first."

June 7

Bazaar: The Orthodox Society for the Sick sponsors a bazaar to help its medical activities. At the Arab Orthodox Club, Wadi Joz 10:00 am to 7:00 pm.

June 8

Demonstration: On the occasion of the 18th year of occupation, sponsored by *Yesh Gvul* in Tel Aviv's Dizengoff square. 7:00 pm. Buses leave from Jerusalem. For more information call 241159.

June 13

Variety: *Ramadan Evenings*, sponsored by al-Sanable theatre company at the Nuzha/Hakawati theatre in East Jerusalem. Tel 288189.

Army

Continued from page 1

flocks. They stay there until late summer, when grass dries up and grazing area for the sheep becomes scarce. They then move to their homes in Yatta near Hebron to let the sheep graze.

After 1967, the Israelis established a military camp near the land. Present efforts to seize the area are apparently aimed at expanding the Israeli army camp and neighbouring Jewish settlements which have been built since 1977 on confiscated land.

Some observers noted that the land is located within the Allon plan security zone. The Allon plan, which was drafted by former foreign minister Yigal Allon and is part of the platform of the Labour Party, entails retention of large portions of West Bank land for a buffer zone of settlements along the Jordan Valley between the West Bank and Jordan should Israel withdraw from the West Bank. Village residents recall that prior to 1967, the Israelis crossed the 'green line' into Jordanian territory and raided their villages in 1951, when they demolished 20 houses.

Unity Talks

Continued from page 1

occupied territories. The statement concluded by asserting the need for unified struggle in order to obtain the right for self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

In Tunis a secret meeting was reported to have taken place June 3. The Kuwaiti daily *Al Qabas* said that a high-level meeting between Fatah representatives and two unidentified opposing factions took place. *Al Qabaas* said that the PFLP was one of the unknown factions that met with Fatah. The Fatah central committee issued a press release June 5 calling for a summit meeting between the heads of the various Palestinian factions.

In Kuwait Fatah's no. 2 man Salah Khalaf who is expected to head a top level Palestinian delegation to Libya called on Libya's President Mua'amar Qaddafi to encourage unity among the Palestinian factions. Qaddafi has lately taken a public stand against Syria and in support of the embattled Palestinians in Beirut. Qaddafi also rejected Syrian charges that PLO Chairman Arafat was responsible for the latest fighting around the Palestinian camps. Qaddafi said that Arafat is the victim of a conspiracy aimed against the entire Palestinian people. Qaddafi also indirectly attacked Syria by protesting against Arab leaders who refuse to allow Palestinian leaders to stay in their countries. Since 1983 Syria has refused to allow Arafat or his deputy Khalil Wazir from setting foot on Syrian territory.

WANTED

West Bank development organisation seeks administrative secretary with the following qualifications: fluency in Arabic & English, ability to type from dictaphone, at least high school diploma. Interested candidates call 952274 between 5 and 7 pm.

Wadi Foukin

Continued from page 16

very enthusiastic about the model irrigation methods, told *Al Fajr* that their eggplant crops had been rotting prematurely, and the villagers were unable to find proper pesticide to fight this disease, called *scloritinia*. The government-employed Arab agricultural engineers, who make occasional visits to the village, could not recommend a proper pesticide for the disease. When Da'iq visited the village under the auspices of the Voluntary Work Committee, he said, he found many more problems in addition to *scloritinia*. He helped farmers to learn how to use fertilizers and pesticides properly.

More Than Pesticides and Fertilizers

Da'iq, however, had more in mind than merely introducing pesticides and fertilizers. "I thought the entire system of farming had to be changed," he said. He argued that only with modern agriculture techniques can the whole 5000 dunums be cultivated, crop disease contained, and fertilizer evenly distributed. Few residents, however, responded positively to his proposals on drip irrigation and cultivation under plastic covers. This was largely due to the high cost of the plastic pipes and sheets. Da'is was the first farmer to go along with the idea. He even offered the ARC three land plots, about two dunums, to use as "an experiment farm." Da'is told *Al Fajr* that the Mennonite Centre in Jerusalem covered about 65 percent of the cost of the pipes and small motor and fertilizer distribution machine, while he paid the remaining JD155. "All I was concerned about was to give a successful experiment to the village," he said, adding "even if I lost JD155."

May 1, International Workers Day, 50 youths from the Volunteer Work Committee dug up two pools for the new farms, one for Da'is and one for Mahmoud Rabah, another farmer who went along with the scheme.

Many farmers were reluctant to try the new techniques because of their expense. "Why should I pay so much money when I am producing my crops as is without paying anything?" Abu Na'im queried. He added that he wasn't sure that this new method would be successful. "We will see what happens with Da'is' experiment farm," he said, when Da'iq pressed him about the benefits of modern agricultural techniques.

Today, there are at least eight farmers who are experimenting with the new technique following Da'is' pioneer precedent. Da'is' tomatoes are the most successful in the entire valley. When visited last week the squash and cucumber were still small compared with crops of others, but the agricultural engineer insists that they will turn out to be the best in the village, just like the tomato plants.

The agricultural engineer said that the ARC is currently involved in agricultural assistance throughout the West Bank. The Jordan Valley, where the bulk of West Bank agriculture is concentrated, gets the largest share of their help. Outside that area, Wadi Foukin has received a great deal of attention, much more than many other villages. "Wadi Foukin's residents fought so long for their village and land and took so many risks to maintains the land — shouldn't we help them keep it?" he said.

WEEKLY REVIEW

May 29

GENERAL STRIKE

The Committee for Defending Palestinian Refugee camps in the occupied territories has called for a general strike in protest of the massacres against the Palestinian people in Beirut. The committee noted in a recent statement Syria's role in supporting the Amal gangs and blessing their crimes.

SALVATION FRONT CALLS FOR CEASEFIRE

The Palestine National Salvation Front, an alliance of Syrian-based Palestinian groups opposed to PLO leader Yasir Arafat, issued a call for a ceasefire in the Beirut camps.

"You (Amal) must be confident that your brothers, fighters in the Salvation Front, are your comrades-in-arms... Let us tend to our wounds and wipe out our tears together," it said in a statement carried in Beirut newspapers.

PRAYERS IN HEBRON FOR BEIRUT MARTYRS

Traditional Islamic "absentee prayers" were held in many mosques in Hebron and its surrounding villages for those who fell in the battle to defend the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. The prayers were attended by sheikhs, clergymen, and notables from the city and its districts, as well as dozens of residents.

BETHLEHEM TEENAGER JAILED

Izzat Ibrahim Khader Ubeid Allah, 16, of Bethlehem was sentenced to 10 months in jail and a 3 year suspended sentence by the Israeli military court in Ramallah. He was charged with security offences.

BOMB EXPLODES IN 'AFULA

An explosives charge went off harmlessly in the Israeli town of 'Afula, Israel Radio reported. It said the bomb had been placed in a public garden under a bench. A number of Arabs were taken into custody for questioning.

DRUZE DETAINED AS "INSTIGATOR"

Fayez Safadi, 42, a Druze from the village of Majdal Shams in the Golan Heights, was remanded in police custody for 5 days by an Israeli court in Acre on charges of inciting against Israeli occupation.

Safadi was detained last Monday for participating in a demonstration in his village about one month ago and flying the Syrian flag.

May 30, 1985

5 RAMALLAH YOUTHS SENTENCED FOR MOLOTOV

Five youths from Ramallah were sentenced by the local Israeli military court to various jail sentences on charges of hurling molotov cocktails at army vehicles. They are: Nasser Khalili, 6 years in prison and 4 years suspended; Ra'ed Abu Libdeh, 5 years in prison and 4 years suspended; Hassan Abu Tyour, 5 years in prison and 4 years suspended; Salim Malhi, 6 years in prison and 2 years suspended; and Nasser Abu Humeid, 4 months in prison and 2 months suspended.

JENIN MAN JAILED FOR 4 YEARS

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Yasir Mohammed Mousa Bazour of Jenin to 4 years in jail on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

May 31, 1985

FRIDAY PRAYER OVERSHADOWED BY BEIRUT MASSACRES

Thousands of Muslim worshippers attended the traditional "absentee prayer" at the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem for victims of the massacres in Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. The prayer was conducted immediately after the Friday prayer.

Later, the worshippers organised a mass march in the mosque's vicinity condemning the massacres and those standing behind them. The protestors called upon Arab and Islamic countries to end the killings and denounce the Syrian regime and its tools in Lebanon.

In various mosques in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the theme of the Muslim Friday sermons was the fighting around the Palestinian camps in Beirut and elsewhere. Preachers were unanimous in decrying the barbaric massacres perpetrated against the Palestinian people in Lebanon, and noted that the shedding of Muslim blood in the month of Ramadan by others who claim to be Muslims is in fact an attempt to annihilate our people and its cause.

Ramadan brings flocks of worshippers to Jerusalem's Old City and the al-Aqsa Mosque. Damascus gate is full of peddlers who happily sell their wares to visitors from all over./AO photo.

DHEISHEH KID GETS 4 YEARS

For throwing stones and petrol bombs at Israeli vehicles, Abd al-Rahman Khader al-Ahmar, a 15-year-old pupil from Dheisheh refugee camp, was sentenced to 4 years in jail and 3 years suspended by an Israeli military court in Ramallah.

GOLAN DELEGATION VISITS DHEISHEH

A 50-man delegation of notables from the Golan Heights visited Dheisheh camp to express solidarity with its residents against Israeli practices and the continued detention of a number of Dheisheh youths since February.

LANDOWNERS PROTEST EXPROPRIATION

Landowners in the Wadi Bayyar area in the village of Khader in the Bethlehem district have appealed to the Israeli authorities to cancel a decision to confiscate their land as "state-owned property." The *mukhtars* of the village, Mousa Abed Mousa, Adel Subeih, and Shawki al-Zayah were earlier this week notified by the authorities of the decision to expropriate the land. The *mukhtars* have condemned the decision and called for its cancellation.

1 YEAR FOR STONES

Mohammed Ibrahim Jadallah, 18, accused by Israeli authorities of hurling stones at Israeli vehicles, was sentenced to 1 year in prison by an Israeli military court in Nablus. Jadallah, a resident of Hussan village, was detained 40 days ago and held at al-Fara'a prison.

June 2, 1985

30 FREED PRISONERS QUESTIONED

Thirty Palestinian ex-prisoners freed in the recent prisoner swap between Israel and Ahmad Jibril's PFLP-GC were questioned last week by Israeli military authorities, who also confiscated their passports. The ex-prisoners were warned not to practice any political or mass activities, otherwise they would face expulsion from the country.

The 30 ex-prisoners announced that they are considering appealing to the Israeli High Court to regain their passports.

HEBRON RALLY CONDEMNS MASSACRES

A mass rally condemning the massacres against Palestinian refugees in Beirut by Amal and the Syrian regime was held at the Hebron Polytechnic College and Hebron University. The rally was attended by representatives of nationalist institutions and student factions in the Hebron district.

TAWIL CALLS FOR HALT TO MASSACRES

Palestinian journalist Raymonda Tawil, manager of the Jerusalem-based Palestine Press Service (PPS), appealed to international public opinion to interfere to end the Palestinian "bloodbath" in Beirut. Tawil's appeal came in a speech she delivered before the International Conference for Human Rights, which met in Paris May 30.

2 INJURED BY PETROL BOMB IN NABLUS

Two people were slightly injured when a petrol bomb was thrown at a cafe in Nablus. The incident occurred in the Yasminieh quarter in the Old City. One person was detained for questioning.

The graduation of *tawjihi* students at St. George High School, in Jerusalem May 31, 1985./AO photo.

STRIKING MUNICIPAL WORKERS TO BE PAID

The Joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee for boosting the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories has decided to pay all municipal workers who went on strike after the authorities dissolved the Arab municipalities in 1980-82. The decision was taken at PLO leader Yasir Arafat's request and the recommendation of Jordan's prime minister Zaid al-Rifa'i.

GAZA FISHERMEN ON MILITARY TRIAL

Some 40 fishermen from the Gaza Strip are to stand military trial for trespassing the fishing zone, which starts at the Gaza beach and ends on the outskirts of the town of Rafah, 5 kms away. The Israeli army has seized the fishermen's boats pending their trial.

BETHLEHEM YOUTH GETS 1 YEAR FOR STONES

Mohammed Zakariyah Adwi, 20, of Bethlehem was sentenced to 6 months in jail and 6 months suspended by an Israeli military court in Nablus. He was charged with throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

June 3, 1985

SABOTAGE IN BAQA

Unidentified saboteurs set fire to wheat crops and uprooted citrus trees in the village of Baqa al-Sharqiyeh, in the Tulkarm district. They also cut irrigation pipes.

SETTLERS KIDNAP LANDOWNER TO FORCE SALE

Jewish settlers unsuccessfully attempted to talk a Qalqilya resident into selling them his land, which is located on the side of the road leading to their settlement. Subsequently, the settlers ambushed the resident near his home, kidnapped him in their car, and tried to force him to sell them the land by threats.

Schmidt College high school graduation.

HIGH COURT TO DISCUSS TOWN-ARREST

The Israeli High Court will look into the appeal of Kufr Kanna student Omar Sa'id against a town arrest order imposed on him for the sixth time in row.

BZU STILL UNDECIDED ON CLOSURE

A source in the Public Relations Department in Bir Zeit University denied a report in one of the local newspapers saying the university administration has decided to suspend studies until September 1. The source said the report was "false," and added that the BZU Board of Trustees will discuss the issue in its next meeting on Wednesday.

KACH THREATENS FREED PRISONER IN HAIFA

Members of the racist Kach movement led by MK Meir Rabbi Kahane posted "wanted" signs in various parts of Haifa, denouncing ex-security prisoner Daoud Turki as a "terrorist and spy," and calling for his expulsion from the country.

In response to this, Turki said: "Let all those who came to this country as foreigners leave. This is the only homeland I have." He said he was summoned last week by Israeli police and intelligence agents and told not to leave the country because of a ban imposed on him.

ARAB NEWSPAPERS, UNIVERSITIES TARGETED BY SETTLER COUNCIL

The Regional Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has decided to include Arab newspapers and universities in the harassment campaign it is currently waging against freed Palestinian prisoners, Israeli newspapers reported.

June 4, 1985

LOCAL MAYORS DENOUNCE BEIRUT MASSACRES

Four elected mayors from the Ramallah area met to discuss the Amal massacres. In a joint statement, the mayors — Ahmad Lutfi Othman of Beitunia, Mousa Mahmoud Mousa of Silwad, Yahia el-Rimawi of Bani Zeid, and Ibrahim Awad of Bir Zeit — denounced the cruel conspiracy against the Palestinian people by Amal and the Lebanese army.

"What arouses our scepticism and wonder is the conspiratorial role played by the Syrian regime... in striking at the Palestinian people and the resistance, and the terrifying silence prevailing over the Arabs regarding what is happening in Lebanon," said the statement. "They (the Arabs and Syria) bless the suspicious onslaught on our people and cruel massacres perpetrated in the camps."

SETTLERS STORM SAFFA IN SEARCH OF EX-PRISONERS

Israeli settlers stormed the village of Saffa in the Ramallah district and searched private homes for prisoners freed in last month's prisoner exchange. The villagers intervened and chased the intruders outside the village.

FREIJ IN SWEDEN

Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij arrived in Sweden and met with its foreign minister. Freij, who is currently on a European tour, will meet today with Swedish government officials and parliament members.

TEACHER DISMISSED

The Israeli officer in charge of education in the West Bank dismissed Kifayeh Ahmed Sa'id 'Ardah of Jenin from her teaching job as of August 31. She was assigned to the job earlier this year. No reasons were given for the dismissal.

TAWJIHI EXAMS BEGIN

Some 13,000 West Bank students will sit for the matriculation *(tawjihi)* examinations this term. The exam, which ends on June 16, covers science, literature, industry, and commerce.

VILLAGERS DEPRIVED OF ELECTRICITY

The Jerusalem District Electricity Company has been ordered by military authorities to remove electric poles it had set up six months ago near the village of Shawawrah in the Bethlehem district, thus leaving it without power.

PALESTINIAN FLAG IN JERUSALEM

The Palestinian flag was found flying atop a building in East Jerusalem's main Salah el-Din Street this morning. Israeli border policemen removed the flag and began an investigation.

SUMMER HOLIDAY

The summer recess in West Bank schools begins today. It will last until September 9.

JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

Abd al-Halim Ahmed Ayyad al-Halbiyeh of Jerusalem was sentenced to 6 months jail and 12 months suspended by an Israeli military court in Nablus on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation. He was detained on December 20, 1984.

TAWJIHI STUDENT ARRESTED

Israeli authorities detained Ahmad Abd al-Karim of Hussan village in the Bethlehem area, thus preventing him from sitting for the *tawjihi* matriculation exams.

YOUTHS JAILED FOR SECURITY OFFENCES

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Husam Abed Rabo, a student at the Ibrahimiyah College in Jerusalem, to two-and- a-half years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

The court also sentenced Muneeb al-Kababji of Nablus to 1 month in jail, 6 months suspended and a IS350,000 fine on security charges. Naser al-Taslek, also from Nablus, received an identical sentence on charges of demonstrating.

Nasr ed-Din

Continued from page 10

in every sense...

On the solution to the Palestinian problem: "Despite all the blame I place on the Arab leadership, one cannot escape the problem. There are people living as refugees, outside. Their situation is not the best. Yes, there is a problem. But it must be solved in different ways. The Jews brought four-and-a half million Jews here from all over the world. One day of oil revenues in Saudi Arabia could solve all the problems of the Palestinian refugees who are sleeping outside. But they don't do it.

"In my view, there was a large number, a certain number [of refugees] that this state agreed to accept. There is a sector who was born abroad, and is living and integrating into life abroad. It needs to continue to integrate. And some need to return [to the West Bank and Gaza — ed].

"The Likud agreed with Egypt that there would be autonomy in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank — ed] so the Arabs would not be ruled by another people. They agreed that the population would have its own council. The council would determine who would come into the area, and who would not.

On a Palestinian state: "I don't think there is a place to establish a Palestinian state. There is no place. The Jewish people didn't erect their state on a silver tray. They fought for it. In '48 they said to the Arabs, 'Come, we'll sit together, you'll set up your state and we'll set up ours.' The Arabs didn't accept. They said, 'Throw them to the sea.' But the Arabs failed. The Arabs need to have the guts to say the truth: they failed and failed and failed. And they will keep failing, because they act according to emotions, not reason.

"The Turks didn't give the Palestinians a state. The British didn't either. Neither did Abdullah [King of Jordan until 1951]. Even Hussein himself didn't give them a state. Why do they all talk about a Palestinian state today? Why didn't *they* give the Palestinians a state when they ruled over them? Today, at least the Jews tell them, 'Come on, we don't want to rule you. Come and take your autonomy. Lead your lives as you wish — your culture, your education, your municipalities — do whatever you want, but just give us jurisdiction over your security. We absolutely cannot give that up.' The Jews say, it is impossible for us to give that up. And they're right! If they lose once, they're finished.

"Autonomy means that the people that is sitting here will keep sitting on its land. The Jews are not robbing them; they're not telling them, 'Go home' to Jordan. The Jewish settlements are *not* on private land; they are on *state* land. That land was attached to the Jordanian government; the Jordanians left and the Jews came in their place. So the settlements are on *state* land, not on private land. I don't care even if the Jewish settlements would be under the jurisdiction of the local Arab council. If I fall under Jewish rule, why shouldn't a Jew fall under Arab rule?...

"If this autonomy came into being, the Arabs of Israel would remain as citizens of Israel...

On his role as an MK in the peace process: "As for what I can do for peace — I am one out of 120. Everything related to peace with the Arab states is done by governments, not individual legislators. Everyone who goes on his own — like Darawshe, for example — to give a speech in front of the PNC — that's really inconceivable. He can't change anything; it won't lead to anything. Only the government can and knows how to effect results. Within the framework of the government, if we will be in the government, we can always say 'we want peace.' We will speak about autonomy. It may not be the greatest, but at least it's something new that wasn't there before. And I have said more than once, why say no? First accept autonomy. Afterwards think, check, research the idea." ■

Wadi Foukin: One Destroyed Village That Was Rebuilt

by Sami al-Aboudi

Wadi Foukin, a tiny village near Bethlehem, is a rare case: its inhabitants, who were forced to leave their homes in 1948, managed through sheer determination, to convince the Israelis to allow them to return in 1972. Perhaps the most striking thing about Wadi Foukin is its residents' love for their village and the spirit of cooperation which has enabled them to weather many hard times together and to return to rebuild their destroyed village all over again from scratch. Today, they are pioneering new agricultural techniques to increase their crop production — as usual, striving for self-improvement.

Wadi Foukin (pop. 700) sits in the middle of a fertile valley southwest of Bethlehem, which was a no-mans land between 1949 and 1967, when Israel invaded and occupied the West Bank. Though the mountains surrounding the village are barren except for wild mountain thorns, the valley contains an estimated 5000 dunums of very rich agricultural land.

No Man's Land

Daoud Mohammed al-Manasra, a Wadi Foukin resident in his late 50's, described how the villagers had to leave Wadi Foukin in 1949, after the Israelis occupied the western mountains overlooking the village. The Jordanian army took over the eastern mountain range, and the village and its fertile land in the valley between the two mountains became no-man's land.

The villagers moved to neighbouring Nahalin and Dheisheh refguee camp, both south of Bethlehem. After things calmed down, they began to go back to cultivate their land in Wadi Foukin. Al-Manasra said the residents had no choice but to take the many risks of returning to work their land. After the war, work was very scarce and it was difficult to provide food for their families. Wadi Foukin residents used to sneak down to their land while others stayed behind high up in the mountains to watch for the Israelis, and send out warnings if they came, al-Manasra recalled. "It was our only source of livelihood," he said.

Chased off Their Own Land

In 1953, the Jordanian government concluded an agreement with Israel to exchange the Wadi Foukin's 5000 dunums for 18,000 dunums of agricultural land in the Hebron area and other territorial concessions in the northeastern West Bank. Consequently, the Jordanians allowed villagers to farm their land freely, but they still could not return to live there for fear of possible Israeli provocations. Village residents told *Al Fajr* that they did not feel safe enough to stay in the village at night with the Israeli army outpost, that had sent out missions against them before, still conspicuously entrenched on the mountain top. They continued to commute daily to work the land until their return in 1972.

Return

The 700 residents returned to their village in 1972 on special agreement with the Israeli authorities. Al-Manasra, told *Al Fajr* that as soon as Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, the original inhabitants, who were scattered between Dheisheh refugee camp and Nahalin village, demanded that they be allowed to return to their village. The opportunity came in 1972 when the Israelis, who were involved in major "security operations" to uproot national resistance from the Gaza Strip camps, decided to move refugees to the West Bank in the early 1970's. The Israelis then destroyed thousands of homes to open wide security roads in the camps and moved their inhabitants to the West Bank. Al-Manasra explained that one day in 1972, the Israeli military governor of Bethlehem visited Dheisheh camp. The *mukhtar* of Wadi Foukin grabbed the opportunity to reiterate the villagers' demand to return to their village. The military governor promised to study their demand. A few weeks later, he returned to the camp and notified Wadi Foukin residents that they would be permitted to return, provided they turned over their homes in the camp to Israeli authorities.

Within a short period of time, despite the fact that all houses in the village had been destroyed since 1950, all the villagers returned without hesitation. "Some people slept with their livestock in caves," said one resident named Abu Yousef. He recalled hardships village residents had to go through to rebuild their village. "We used to walk for more than three kilometres in the muddy street under the rain to get to school in Hussan," Dr. Yousef Da'is, a doctor at the Hussein hospital in Beit Jala, told *Al Fajr*

Village residents are fond of quoting the Israeli military governor of Bethlehem who once described them as a "kibbutz" because all residents volunteered to pave the narrow road linking the village with neighbouring Hussan after the Israeli military authorities, who are resonsible for such services, refused to do so. Residents also boast that it was the same spirit which enabled them to persist in working their land between 1949 and 1972 despite the many risks. And it is the same spirit, without a doubt, that is behind Wadi Foukin's foray into modern agricultural techniques.

Agricultural Pioneers

Most residents of Wadi Foukin earn their livelihood from agriculture. Villagers estimate that Wadi Foukin's land encompasses more than 5000 arable dunums. Only about 1000 dunums, however, have sufficient water supplies for cultivation at present. Agriculture experts say that if new irrigation systems were introduced, water supplies would suffice to cultivate all the land.

Several small water springs make the village land ideal for vegetable crops. The main crop in the village is a special brand of eggplants called *Battiri*, named after the Bethlehem-area village of Battir. This brand of special small, delicate eggplant is used primarily for stuffing and pickling. Villagers also grow tomatoes, cucumber, squash, and sweet and hot pepper.

Until recently, the village relied on the old "open-canal" method of irrigation. Water was routed to small land plots owned by individual farmers through open cement or dirt canals. This method results in great waste of water and has proven uneconomical.

Recently the Agriculture Relief Committee (ARC), one of the many popular volunteer organisations of agricultural engineers and experts that have sprung up in the occupied territories in the mid 1970s, started experimenting with drip irrigation techniques and cultivation under plastic sheets. According to agricultural engineer Ismael Da'iq, an active member of the ARC, the new methods save water, triple crop yields and save farmers arduous daily weeding. The new method also controls the spread of diseases and prolongs the productive age of plants, he said.

The ARC was first introduced to Wadi Foukin early this year by another local volunteer group, the Volunteer Work Committee. Izzat Mahmoud Da'is, 53, a well-known village farmer who is

Continued on page 13

TOP: Wadi Foukin. BOTTOM: The map shows Wadi Foukin circled in the Bethlehem area at the lower left.

Wadi Foukin villagers experiment with modern agricultural methods. Once the plants have grown through the plastic, dirt is scattered on top of it. This way, any other weeds interfering with the crops are burned from the sun's heat and have no room to grow.